

THE
RALLYING CENTRE
OF CHRISTENDOM

G. E. DOUGLAS

Class

280.35

Book

D745

General Theological Seminary Library

CHELSEA SQUARE, NEW YORK

Ex Apr 12, '86

PRESENTED BY

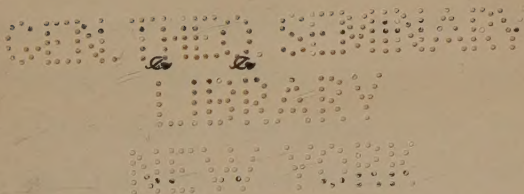
Soc'y for Promoting Religion and Learning

THE RALLYING CENTRE
OF CHRISTENDOM

THE RALLYING CENTRE OF CHRISTENDOM

BY THE REV.
has Edward
C. E. DOUGLAS

Proctor in the Convocation of Canterbury.



PUBLISHED IN LONDON BY THE FAITH PRESS, LTD.,
AT THE FAITH HOUSE, 22 BUCKINGHAM STREET,
CHARING CROSS, W.C. 2.

1926

280.35

D745

79366

UNIVERSITY OF
TORONTO
LIBRARY

CONTENTS

Chap.		Page.
I.	WHAT IS THE RELIGION OF THE ENGLISH?	1
II.	WHAT THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND WAS UP TO THE RUPTURE OF RELATIONS WITH THE PATRIARCHAL CHURCH OF THE WEST	11
III.	WHAT THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND HAS BEEN SINCE THE RUPTURE OF RELATIONS WITH THE PATRIARCHAL CHURCH OF THE WEST	41
IV.	GOVERNMENT BY CHARACTER	69
V.	THE READJUSTMENT OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL MACHINE	91
VI.	SOME PROBLEMS AND THEIR SOLUTION	111
VII.	"THE GLORIOUS COMPANY OF THE APOSTLES" ...	129
VIII.	"THE GOODLY FELLOWSHIP OF THE PROPHETS" ...	142

PREFACE

At the Eastbourne Church Congress (1925) Mr. H. C. Streatfield, sometime Secretary to the Bengal Government, is reported to have said that "the bed-rock feeling of the overseas Churches is that the Church of England is played out."

I have heard the same from Russian exiles since the War about the English as a nation. I have heard it about English Church and English State all my life from foreigners and even (more insistently) from home-born Jeremiahs. I do not believe a word of it. The English people has only begun its work in the world. The English Church will ultimately prove to be the Rallying Centre of Christendom. This little book is written to show what we can do to hasten the time—the time that shall surely be, when the earth shall be full of the *Freedom* of God as the waters cover the sea.

It is not to be expected that the suggestions here put forward for the readjustment of the ecclesiastical machine of the Church of England will merit immediate or general acceptance. For the problems of to-day are too little studied from the constitutional point of view. I wish principally to urge that the possibilities of the historic institutional arrangements of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* be exhausted before we embark on revolutionary "reform," either of method or of doctrine. One great hindrance to such a conservative (in the best and non-party sense of the word) policy is the lack of certainty as to the position which is not uncommon even among our leaders. For this reason, more general study of this aspect of Church problems may be strongly urged. The best text book is that written by a German barrister at the end of last century, Felix Makower, a translation of which was

published by Sonnenschein in London in 1895, under the title of *The Constitutional History and Constitution of the Church of England*. In this a very complete catena of references to and quotations from authorities will be found. For the convenience of those who wish to study the relevant chapters of Benedict XIV's *Tractatus de Synodo Dioecessana*, my friend, Mr. W. R. V. Brade, has made a translation which the Faith Press is publishing this month. How important this detail of the general problem is may be judged from the fact that, unlike the Convocations, the Diocesan Synods are not fettered by the *Act for the Submission of the Clergy to the King's Majesty* (25 Hen. VIII. 1533/4). This is not an accidental omission, for local government in secular matters (e.g., the civic charters) was similarly left untouched. When one thinks of what has resulted from the discovery seventy years ago of the inherent freedom of the Convocations, the possibilities of synodical action are certainly worth careful exploration.

C.E.D.

CHAPTER I.

WHAT IS THE RELIGION OF THE ENGLISH?

ON Whitsun Eve, 1925, I took some friends to the Coliseum Music Hall, the show at which, if not vividly exciting, is never without something of real interest. Among the turns was a series of nigger-songs by a well known pair of coloured singers with the customary breathless succession of rapidly spoken verses divided by a jiggling chorus. After one or two "gay" melodies came a solemn one, the words of which (intentionally no doubt) were indistinguishable at first. Gradually, however, to my amazement, a phrase in the jiggling chorus began to shape itself—"standeth in the need of prayer." It seemed impossible, yet the phrase came again and again. A *hymn* on the Music Hall stage! What was the world coming to? And then the vocalists let us hear what they were singing.

[Its] Not my father nor my mother,
Nor my sister nor my brother,
That standeth in the need of prayer;

But it's Me, O Lord—it's Me, O Lord—that standeth in the need of prayer.

[Its] Not the deacon nor the teacher,
Nor the elder nor the preacher,
That standeth in the need of prayer;

But it's Me, O Lord—it's Me, O Lord—that standeth in the need of prayer.

The audience, again somewhat to my astonishment, gave a very hearty cheer at the end—partly, no doubt, as a concession to good taste, but partly also because an essentially *personal* appeal lies behind whatever touches English people at all thoroughly. Yet, when one comes to think about it, the most surprising thing about the whole incident is not the way in which the Coliseum audience received the hymn but the source from which it came. For the negro race is conspicuously lacking in personal initiative. Imitative it

is with a simple fervour at times almost ludicrous. Individualist it is in its uncontrolled eruptions of passion. But as regards personality, the phrase "dumb, driven, cattle" is an epitome of their history. The upward movement of the black peoples in white lands is intentionally and explicitly the outcome of the craving to be "as their masters." So far, it has assumed no personal character even in music, where alone a distinction can be drawn between black culture and white. For the moment they are "child-races," observing and copying, with less help and encouragement than they have a right to expect. That they will pass rapidly into the stage of adolescence and find themselves at last as "a full-grown man," no one who has read the history of the world can doubt. But at present they are still giving back to us what they see in us—and with somewhat of that half-caricature of the real manhood which a white boy puts before him as what he intends to be.

Now, anyone who has had to deal with boys knows with what almost diabolical skill they seize upon and exaggerate something in everybody with whom they have to do. A slight limp gives a man the title of "Gamey"—a peculiarity in vision, "Boss-eye"—a well-developed nasal organ, "Nosey"—and so on. Often the adult will hardly notice the characteristic in question until it is emphasised in this way by a nickname. Yet it is not that the young mind is peculiarly gifted with observation. Quite the contrary. It is like a street on a foggy night—brilliant patches round the lamp-posts and a misty indistinctness elsewhere. The bright patches obtain a vividness which is not really inherent, but the result of the haze all round. Just as those using the street tend to congregate at the lighted patches, so the boy tends to concentrate on those glimpses of life which are at any rate comparatively clear to him. It is not a lack of proportion so much as a limitation of vision which makes him doubly conscious of what he is able to see and understand.

When, therefore, we find Negro hymnology centring on the *personal* side of the Christian religion, the most interesting fact about it is the source from which the American black received this dogma. Christianity, as presented to him, was a call to "self-realisation"—not in the abominable canting sense of modern individualism, but in accordance with the strong Pauline doctrine of power, the possibility of the *persona* when strengthened by Jesus Christ. No doubt this was the particular aspect of English religion which the Methodists (to whom the American colonies owed their first missionary stimulus) deliberately intended to stress. For it is the practical expression of the grace known to them as "conversion," and to the plantation slave must have been pre-eminently a message of hope. In spite of his colour he could become "whiter than the snow" in the eyes of God, if he took the "white-man's religion" in place of his ancestral superstition. All this is perfectly natural, though not necessarily to be foreseen. One would have expected to find a much stronger sense of a corporate band—a greater reliance on discipline—and the fact that the *personal* side of Christianity figures so strongly in the negro "confession of faith" is evidence that (to them) that was the most prominent feature of the English religion which they laboured to adopt and to imitate. The reception which the refrain, *It's Me, O Lord, who standeth in the need of prayer*, received at the Coliseum is evidence that their observation went to the root of the matter. I make bold to say that no one reading this book will not feel the appeal of those simple words *It's Me, O Lord*, as applied to himself. For to an Englishman, religion is a call rather than a duty. The vast majority of non-Churchgoers probably rather regret that they have not got the call, though they will not go out of their way to seek it. But they see no particular reason why they should go to Church simply because religion is a good thing for others. "It don't do *me* no good," is (on this premiss) an unanswerable reason for refusal.

When, therefore, we set out to inquire by what means the Church of England is again to become the Church of the English and so to be ready to play that great part in the reunion of Christendom which no other Church can play, we must never forget that, to be widespread and effective, its appeal must be definitely *personal*. I know that in certain so-called "Catholic" circles the criticism will at once be raised that the personal character of English religion is a protestant abomination which we owe to the Reformation. This suggestion will be dealt with later. For the moment I do not wish to dispute it, because, whatever the origin, it is the religion of *To-day* with which we are concerned not the religion of four hundred years ago. While the faith remains the same, the practice has changed, and, try how we will, we cannot restore the old way, because we cannot restore the atmosphere. To take just one example; every little village in the county and nearly every street in the cities had its own Church and its own parson. The people paid willingly and generously for the upkeep of their clergy for the most part. Ah! we say, those were days when men believed. But they had many reasons other than religious for desiring a "clerk" in their midst. He was the only man in the village, as often as not, who could read and write. He made their wills, wrote their letters and read the replies to them. He brought news of the outer world from the county town where the Bishop held his Synod. He arbitrated in their disputes, kept the registers, and so on. A village without its parson before the days of civil officials is almost unthinkable. How are we going to restore the place of the parish priest in the communal life of his cure? By abolishing the post office and the lawyer, the doctor and registrar? Even then his position would not be the same, unless we closed all schools and forbade the peasantry to be independent of his erudition by learning to read and write. In the same way, in the Church services, the importance of the parson has changed.

To minister to those who can follow the liturgy in books is obviously quite different from performing a rite in the presence of a congregation which has only the vaguest idea of what is going on. How shall we revive "the mediæval spirit of devotion" (assuming that it existed at all generally)? Shall we substitute dead Latin for the living English of the Book of Common Prayer and mumble unintelligible words because it is no good saying them aloud? We are up at once against the lack of personal appeal.

[Its] Not the curate nor the vicar,

Nor the sacristan nor server,

That standeth in the need of prayer.

It's Me, O Lord—it's Me, O Lord—that standeth in the need of prayer.

To the Englishman to-day (whether we approve or no) it is the priest's duty to lead the faithful in the corporate offering of the Sacrifice of the Lord, rather than to make that offering himself in the presence of a congregation, as was (compulsorily) the mediæval practice—as is the Latin practice to this day. It is exceedingly difficult to take seriously the suggestion that this corporate point of view is simply a debased product of Protestant obscurantism. Surely the essence of Catholicism is for all to join in worship in the One Spirit, each according to the gift which is committed to him—not for the worshippers to look on while a special caste discharges its mystic functions.

However, be the theory of ecclesiastical ministrations what it may, in practice we have got to take the Englishman as he is—not as what he would have been if there had been no Reformation, or what he will be when he has been assimilated to the Latinism of the Western European Churches. It is clear that he cannot go back because the whole social and intellectual atmosphere has changed, while with regard to the adoption of the Latin culture that possibility has been steadily receding as practical politics for more than a century. English methods, English habits of thought,

English institutions have over-run the world and are yearly more and more the model and aim of the very nations where Latinism has its home, in spite of the persistent and remorseless attempts on the part of Rome to stem the tide. If the influence of the Church has largely vanished as a controlling moral force in the Latin countries, one reason is very evident. For cultural and political reasons it has been ranged in opposition to the spread of "Anglo-Saxonism," and, as the English Church has consistently refused to extend its religious activities outside its own sphere, the irresistible force of civilising evolution has been forced in Western Europe to assume a non-religious dress. Church and state on the continent have drifted apart through the opposition of the former to all that is not part of its own traditions. Rome still thinks "the rustic cackle of its bourg the murmur of the world." Why not? Is not Britain a revolted province of the Empire?

At the back of that internationalism, it should be remembered, which is the mark of the social organism of the Vatican to "win back" a country like England to "the faith," there is always consciously the imperialistic *motif*. The reunion of Christendom can only be conceived in terms of a world with its cultural centre in a restored Papal Rome. Any amount of freedom can be allowed to the different units forming the one Church, but a supreme arbiter co-ordinating the whole is an absolute necessity. The various theological reasons given in support of this contention are really only secondary. Peter is a prop rather than a foundation. Bound up with the Roman Catholic faith is a constitutional theory which, in the modern world, is an interesting relic of the past even in Italy itself. Bitter experience has taught the English that the only unity worth having is a unity of spirit—that submission, voluntary or to force, is never permanent—that there are problems which no one can solve for another, but each must face for himself. It is the call

that matters rather than the regulation. Where the Spirit of the Lord is, as the Apostle says (2Co.3¹⁷), liberty need not be conditioned. Where the Spirit of the Lord is not, no supreme arbiter can make the organism live.

The negro was not very far wrong then when he picked out the emphasis on the *person* as a vital element in the religion which he was adopting from his English teachers. But it should not be forgotten that the subordination of the person—of goodwill and not of necessity—is a necessary concomitant to liberty in the Spirit. Not every impulse is to be yielded to—not every instinct followed, for man is a social animal and common action necessitates a common rule. The radical difference between Latinism and Anglo-Saxonism is whether that common rule should be determined by authority or by general consent. Must “general consent” be given when “authority” has spoken, or is there no “authority” except by “general consent”? The English habit of mind leans to the latter view. One could illustrate this by examining English institutions, laws, etc. But it is far better to examine the more intimate and spontaneous customs of a people than to draw deductions from their carefully elaborated constitutional practice, and no more illuminating example could be found of our racial character than that national game which has passed into a proverb descriptive of right conduct, namely, Cricket. The psychological position which this game reveals is both interesting and unmistakable. An Englishman may be forgiven if he regards it as being on a higher plane than anything in the Latin conceptions of society.

First, the almost pedantic obedience to law should be noted. It never enters the head of a player to question the size of the bat, the weight of the ball, the height of the wicket, or the length of the pitch. All these are purely arbitrary regulations, not essential to the game except for the purpose of standardisation, and any might easily be changed without affecting appreciably

the game itself. By common consent, however, the regulations of the Marylebone Cricket Club have become authoritative, and, if *for some good reason* that club changes its rules, everybody else accepts the change without demur. What makes this ready concurrence the more remarkable is that the "governing body" is in no sense democratic. It is representative of nobody except in the sense (which no method of election can establish) that every member of the club is a *real* cricketer himself. But it exercises a power which emperors may envy, as long as it is supported by general consent. If M.C.C. allied itself with Eton and doctored the pitch at Lord's so that Harrow was at a disadvantage in the annual match—if it sold indulgences against l.b.w. in order to build a new stand—sooner or later it would cease to be the authority in cricket. Reluctantly, with much heart-burning and distress, the rest of the cricket world would be forced to make other arrangements. But till then the most unselfish loyalty and the most willing obedience is given to its decrees. The English view of the Church is much the same. Rome was once our M.C.C. but she allied herself with the Spaniards to the detriment of England. She sold indulgences to build the new St. Peter's. And at last our "consent" was withdrawn. If Rome is ever again to be the "authority" in religion, she must regain our consent that we may accept her as we accept the M.C.C. in cricket—not grudgingly or of necessity. God loveth a cheerful giver, and no man can *give* what he has not right or power to refuse.

Second, the status of the *person* at cricket is even more strongly marked. All turns on the right of each player to his innings (provided there is time). No matter how bad a batsman he may be, for as long as he can stop in he is the centre of the world. The bowler must bowl to him, and the fielders run after the ball which he hits, the scorer must mark the number of runs he makes. There is no nonsense about all men being equal—the score sheet sees to that—but on the

cricket field all have the equal right of showing what they can do at the wicket. The captain of my side need not put me on to bowl, however good I am—that is his discretion in his effort to win the match—but he cannot deprive me of my innings however bad I am. In this Cricket reproduces most strikingly the characteristic feature of the English outlook on life, namely, that everyone ought to have a chance of showing what is in him. Social unrest in England is traceable mainly to this very cause. Some people, say the malcontents, get six innings and don't field—others field all their lives and never handle the bat. It's "not cricket." Everyone should be given a chance.

Whether the complaint is substantially true or not, or whether (if true) it can be met, is not a question into which we need enter here. But it should be noted that this "bitter cry" is not of the primarily animal character distinctive of the underdog in the older world. When Shakespeare introduces his Caliban into the cultured circle of Prospero's court, he gives him an entry which is perhaps the most striking line in the whole of his plays—an epitome in four words of all that Caliban is or thinks or does (except under compulsion).

Prospero. Ho, Caliban!

Caliban (without). A want ma dinner.

There are not lacking still those who have the outlook of Prospero, nor indeed has the race of Caliban died out. (Let him that is without sin cast the first stone.) But if Shakespeare conceived a similar entry for the lower orders of England to-day, he would write, *A want ma innings*. Nothing can take its place as an incentive to play the game of life. Imagine a village cricket match where the Squire provided free drinks galore and tents and bands and sunshades for the long field and every luxury possible or impossible, but where the house-party at the Hall alone had the privilege of batting. You would still hear the grumble *A want ma innings*. No other provision can or will

satisfy the Englishman, as long as he is what he is. He does not fancy himself a Jack Hobbs, but he wants to have his knock in life—to express the personality or whatever it is that is in him—to stand up before his fellows if only for a minute. No one can do this for him either in matters secular or matters religious. Always it's Me, O Lord—it's Me, O Lord, that standeth in the need of prayer.

In this study of the office and ministry of the Church of England as a constituent part of the One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church whose charter is the Gospel of Jesus Christ, it is assumed that the combination of personality and team-work is a higher gift of God to human society than the older model of the Divine Right of princes, whether the "prince" be chosen by pillow-luck or by election (popular or aristocratic) or by lot. To the English the free unity of a cricket eleven is more to be desired than the drilled solidity of a platoon. Since the rest of mankind is slowly but surely adopting the English point of view in matters secular, there is at least a possibility that we have a similar mission to the world in matters ecclesiastical. The distinction between the two sides of human enterprise is, indeed, arbitrary and apt to be misleading. I should prefer to treat the growing acceptance of intellectual and social freedom as the advance guard of "the glorious liberty of the sons of God." But this line of approach is not material to the argument. It is enough that a mission has been given to the English people in departments of life which are classified as secular. The history of the last three centuries leaves no doubt as to the fact, and importance therefore attaches to the question whether this mission is ecclesiastical also. To answer it we have first to examine what the Church of England is—not what it ought to be or what it might be if it were something different, but what it is.

CHAPTER II.

WHAT THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND WAS UP TO THE RUPTURE OF RELATIONS WITH THE PATRIARCHAL CHURCH OF THE WEST.

THE Church of England is the outcome of a fusion between two independent expositions of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which was given to the world among the peoples of that Græco-Semitic borderland, which for at least the millennium before his coming was the focus of all religious inspiration. These two Christian associations were (1) a "Byzantine" Church, surviving from the days when Britain was a province of the Empire, and (2) a Latin mission to the Anglo-Saxon conquerors, which was one of the activities of that noble "forward movement" initiated by the Roman Church in the times of Gregory the Great. Their union was effected by a Greek from the Antioch patriarchate, Theodore of Tarsus, who was sent from Rome to remedy the double failure of the Latin mission in evangelising the Saxons and in gathering in the old British remnant. Since the character of the united Church of England is influenced by each of the factors which contributed to its origin, it will be well first to examine each very briefly at the start.

(1.) "Byzantine" is not historically a correct title for the ancient British Church after the division of the Empire under the sons of Theodosius. But it is a convenient description for many reasons, because it emphasises the general concept of the spiritual unity of the One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic Church which, in spite of appalling ecclesiastical and political divisions, is still dominant among us to an extent that neither Catholic nor Protestant nonconformist seems able to realise. Only among the Eastern Orthodox Christians to-day is the same fundamental outlook to be found.

The "churches" are the dioceses, constituent parts of the One Church, as the secular dioceses (i.e., districts) were the units of the Empire. They may be grouped for convenience in provinces, but such arrangements were not part of the deposit of faith, and might be varied at any time. Thus the sense of locality and of racial or cultural affinity is as strongly marked as in the days of St. Paul's missionary journeys. To this day the Welsh dioceses follow the boundaries of the mountain tribes which retained their independence after the Anglo-Saxon invasion. In the same way the Irish Churches were little aristocratic republics under the rule of collegiate bodies (monasteries). If an apostle was resident in the district, he was not apparently president of the synod or chapter, but of a separate Order—a state of affairs which resembles the arrangements of *Acts* rather than the later hierarchy.

Not unnaturally, the Latin mission headed by Augustine found the native Churches exceedingly, even exasperatingly, tenacious of their own "deposit of faith." They knew nothing of the Patriarchal theory which had grown up during the period of their submersion under the wave of northern conquest, and was a reaction from the theory of the Constantinian *oikoumene*. To their strong belief in the unity of the Church this apparent division must have seemed almost blasphemous. They could never have taken kindly even to the division of the Empire, for it was their own line of Emperors who founded the new and Christian centre of the world. In the Arthurian legend they preserved the memory of Constantius at York, of his son Constantine leading the British legions across Europe and founding the metropolis of Peace and Wisdom. When Augustine spoke of Latin Rome as the Patriarchal seat of the West, they replied unhesitatingly that their traditions had no place for such a claim. They were Greek, not Latin—disciples of St. John at Ephesus whose mantle had fallen on the Church of the city of Constantine. Old Rome was a

pagan persecutor, an enemy of the Gospel over which a veneer of Christianity had been spread by the prince whom they, the British, had given to the world.

(2.) The Latin Mission was, as has been said, part of a "forward movement" from Rome at one of the darkest moments in the history of Western Christendom. In many respects it is closely parallel to the Italian Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but there is the vital difference that the earlier movement was primarily religious. Whereas popes like Nicholas II., who pulled down the historic St. Peter's, aimed at adding to the capital of Latinism the *œcumenical* prestige which attached to Constantinople until its capture by the Turks, Gregory's objective was to make Rome the base for the conversion of the conquering settlers who had over-run the Latin world. That the political ideal was there which afterwards found expression in the Holy Roman Empire, need not be doubted. But it could only be a consequence of the success of the religious mission of which the sending of Augustine to England was a single activity.

From many points of view England offered a very promising field at the end of the sixth century to the "forward movement" of Latin Christianity. The native Church had survived the barbarian invasion and was not only vigorously alive but beginning the work of converting its conquerors. We need not doubt Augustine's fears on landing in England, but the fact that the wife of the King of Kent was already a Christian ensured him a favourable reception at Canterbury. The monkish chroniclers have such gifts of suppression that we do not know whether Queen Bertha, having sounded her husband's dispositions, actually invited the mission from Rome. But the conditions under which it was received made its local success sure from the start. In Kent, however, it stopped. A reaction set in which seems to have been racial rather than religious—an objection to continentalism something like the distaste for things "frenchified" which distin-

guished the later Georgian period in England. Augustine's failure to absorb the British Christian communities no doubt also contributed to the lack of general authority which the early See of Canterbury was able to obtain. Its importance historically was on the secular rather than on the spiritual plane, for it definitely linked the claims of the Western patriarchate with the inevitable movement among the settled Anglo-Saxons towards adopting continental culture and civilising arts. Until the decay of the Papacy in the fourteenth century, Canterbury was a centre of light, not only to those who wished to wean the English from the false gods of their forefathers, but also to those who aimed at lifting England out of barbarism.

(3.) Theodore of Tarsus, under whom the fusion of British and Anglo-Latin Christianity was effected, was born just after the baptism of Ethelbert by Augustine. During his lifetime the whole political and religious situation of the *oikoumene* had changed completely and Gregory's "forward movement" seemed to be almost the only hope of Christendom. Weakened by ecclesiastical schism the Eastern Empire had failed to check the Mohammedan invasion. Nestorian and Jacobite had almost welcomed the Saracen conquest, and Tarsus, Theodore's native city, was now a frontier post—the last port of the Empire on its southern seaboard—and, though the Greek world had succeeded in checking the tide of Islam beyond the Semitic border, the danger had simply shifted to the less united Latin West. In A.D. 668, when Theodore was consecrated at Rome, the conquest of Tripoli, Tunis and Morocco had just been victoriously undertaken by the armies of Mohammed's successors. Western Christianity had before it, therefore, the choice of two alternatives. Either the unity which the Eastern Church had established in the Greek lands could be reached on a similar foundation of Latinism, or the divided "churches" would be subjected one by one like those of the African province. Theodore's selection for the See of Canter-

bury can only be understood when considered in relation to the general problem. He was not in Holy Orders, totally ignorant of England and its peoples and advanced in years, but he was a man of great learning and, as the result showed, a statesman with a firm grasp of essentials. His policy was essentially Hellenistic in conception, though Latin in dress. Confronted with racial "schools" in the Church of England not unlike the bitter antagonism between Greek and Syrian in his unfortunate native land, he took the extreme step of refusing to recognise the sacramental character of the British succession and insisted on re-consecration and even on re-baptism. To effect his purpose he allied the Church with the civil power and gave it that synodical character (again on the Greek model) which, serving as the model for the Mother of Parliaments, has proved of such value to the world on the secular plane. When the unity of the Church under him was threatened, he stood by the decrees of the national Synod even though, as in the case of Wilfrid, to do so brought him into direct collision with Rome itself. In thus working out, within the confined limits of the British Isles, the ideal of unification which lay behind the "forward movement" of Gregory, and which ultimately saved Western Europe from conquest by the Mohammedans, Theodore (probably unconsciously) made the Church of England a real entity. He established the first *national* Church, a real self-governing dominion within the One Church of Christ and bound to the body of Christendom in spirit rather than in letter. The only constitutional principle which it has ever had is that laid down later (and under different circumstances) in Magna Charta, *Ecclesia Anglicana libera*. Just as independence of the Latin world from the Greek dominance was an integral factor in Gregory's policy, independence of the English "world" was an inevitable result of the application of that policy to the problem of the fusion of the British and Anglo-Latin Churches. That Theodore foresaw

the possibility of this independence leading to a disruption between England and Rome may be doubted. It is equally unlikely that Gregory had any fear of his Latin renaissance leading to the Great Schism between East and West. In those days a division of the One Church into two or more paths was inconceivable. Heretics might be driven out. The unruly might be excommunicated. But the Church itself was One, built on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, no matter where it might be or what customs it might have. The union was dogmatic and spiritual, not cultural or disciplinary. Apart from his Greek birth and upbringing, Theodore, therefore, could not fail to give the Church in these islands the character of Greek freedom¹ rather than that of the later Latin discipline which the re-establishment of a Western Empire brought about and to which neither the State nor the Church of England were ever a party. If, however, we have to thank Theodore for this we have at least partially to hold him responsible for the narrowness of its outlook as the Church of a dominant race—a claim from which we have still to free ourselves in spite of the bitter failures of the past in Wales, in Ireland, and even in England itself. From his time the Church of England, and for that matter the realm of England which was its immediate political consequence, has preserved the regular Byzantine imperial character within the limited *oikoumene* of the British Islands—and with the same results. The Roman Catholics of Ireland are a good parallel to the Nestorians and Copts, revolted national Churches of the subject races of the Levant. The Scottish Presbyterians and the Welsh Nonconformists may equally well be compared with those Semites who turned readily to the allied monotheistic religion of Mohammed because it was not tainted with Hellenism. Church and State

¹ In his *Penitentiary*, when Theodore refers to continental precedent, he invariably says "The Greeks and the Romans," not *vice versa*.

were regarded in Theodore's tradition as twin agents for the establishment of a social order and to a very large extent this is still the Anglican position to-day. If England and Rome had been able to continue in agreement as to what that social order should be, there would have been no break between them in the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.

As has been said, the development of the Church of England cannot be understood in isolation from the general history of the rest of Christendom. Between the mission of Augustine and the archiepiscopate of Theodore the whole fabric of the Constantinian Empire was shattered by the armies of the Saracens. These disasters weakened not only the power which upheld Christian unity, but also the authority of the central Hellenic Churches, which at that time set the tone of, rather than directed, Christian affairs. Ever since the "forward movement" of Gregory, the Latin world had been restive, and indeed had been so for a considerable time before. At first a mission of Eastern origin in a Greek dress, the Churches of the Western Mediterranean had been steadily Latinised. The translation of the Scriptures into Latin by Jerome, the rise of a Latin school of theology under Augustine, no less than the liturgical and institutional reforms of Gregory, were symptoms of a reaction against the Hellenistic dominance of the Empire which had been developing since the time of Diocletian, and which reached its height under Justinian when Latin ceased to be the official tongue. But however much men dreamed of an old Roman renaissance it was not practical politics in the face of the Lombard dominion in Northern Italy. They could not face the hostility of the Greeks and the barbarians at the same time, and it was not till the middle of the eighth century, sixty years after Theodore's death, that the breach came. The actual occasion was not altogether creditable. A new dynasty replaced at Constantinople the Heraclian line under which the Semitic world had been lost to Christendom.

Its founder, Leo. III. (the Isaurian) was a native of the hinterland of Theodore's birthplace Tarsus, and therefore from the frontier of Islam. He knew from childhood, perhaps by early training, if the record is trustworthy, the appeal which Mohammedanism had made to the Christians of Syria as a reaction against the idolatrous practices surviving from pagan times. Accordingly he set himself to obtain the regulation of the use of images in Churches by an order that they were to be placed above the level of the eye so that worship of them should be difficult. He was soon, as all reformers are, swept into the quicksands of extreme measures, and the complete abolition of "idolatrous objects" was severely, even ruthlessly, enforced. The Latin Church stood by the Greeks in this "iconoclastic" controversy at the height of which (A.D. 754), the City of old Rome declared itself independent of "New Rome" (Constantinople). Unable to stand against the Lombards, its Bishop appealed to the Frankish Kings for protection, and on Christmass Day, A.D. 800, Charlemagne was crowned Emperor at Rome with the full Christianised ceremonial of ancient days. There was, doubtless, no intention then to break the theoretical unity of Christendom as a polity, and, indeed, it is the essence of the Roman Catholic claims that the true tradition is that asserted in the coronation of Charlemagne. But as a matter of historical fact the result was to give Europe two distinct Empires with rapidly diverging cultures—a Latin Empire of the West which never attained true unity and a homogeneous Greek Empire of the East which lives in spirit in spite of political divisions to this day.

The effect on the Church of England was to intensify its independence within its own limited *oikoumene*. Our sympathies were undoubtedly against the so-called "catholics" in the iconoclastic controversy. Our leading theologian of the period, Alcuin, strongly counselled Charlemagne against endorsing the decree

of the Seventh Œcumenical Council (Nikæa II.), and assisted him in writing against it a number of learned tracts, the *Libri Carolini*. In doing this he was speaking not only for himself but for the bishops and princes of England, whom he had consulted in the matter. (Perry : *Hist. Eng. Ch.* I. 83.) But quite apart from this little cloud of theological difference with Rome—none the less significant because it was not till the sixteenth century that the heavens became black with rain—the breach between West and East could not fail to react on the English conception of the relation of their Church to the rest of Christendom. The division of the Christian world was no longer inconceivable. It was an actual fact, and during the century following Charlemagne we find the English concentrating more and more on the development of their own national tradition. We must be, however, very careful not to read back the standpoint of later years into the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church. When Charlemagne compliments Offa, the Bretwald of the English confederation, on being Emperor of the West as he is Emperor of the East, he is doing nothing more than accepting the independence of England, using the only terminology which the constitutional theory of the age allowed. When the Bishop of Rome, as Patriarch of the West, “confers” the pallium on a duly elected Archbishop, he is simply expressing the general recognition by the patriarchate of the election—again in the conventional form of the Constantinian Empire. Emperor and Pope alike would retain the right to influence English State or English Church to any given course of action, but that right was reciprocal and the English were equally at liberty to try their hand at persuasion with the continent. The important thing to note is that where England accepted anything from across the channel it did this of its own free will, not by order of authority—because the change or innovation was a reform approved within, not because it was a duty imposed from without.

The reactions between the English and the Latin worlds were certainly as close in those days as they are now. Considering how small and remote the Anglo-Saxon *oikoumene* was to the rest of the re-established Roman Empire, the share of England in making European history is remarkable, especially when we remember that the records are mainly from Latin sources. But we are concerned here with the modification of the English tradition and with the continental movements only as they affect our own Church. The most important of these was the abuse of the monastic system for general disciplinary purposes. Almost from the start it was evident that the new Western Empire had no proper coherence. Between the nominal capital Rome, which in reality was a ruined and impoverished frontier town, and the place of residence of the Emperors on the Rhine was a fierce region of anarchy. Even in the Emperor's own country the only real factor of unity was the Church, and this, in turn, reflected in its secular clergy the political divisions of the races to which they belonged. The monasteries alone were international and had the true "imperial" spirit. No matter to what race a monk belonged, he became technically a serf from the moment of his profession—voluntarily, but none the less a serf in the eyes of the law. He was as much the property of his abbot, as a child born on a secular estate. If he had rights and liberties of any kind it was because they were secured to him by Church law. As far as the secular courts were concerned, they could no more in justice interfere between a monk and his abbot than they could between a serf and his owner. Quite naturally, therefore, the best minds in the Church, and for that matter, all who wished to evolve order out of chaos, worked steadily to introduce the spirit of monastic discipline into the general ecclesiastical organisation. The traditional synodical order encouraged the anarchy of divergent local rights and interests both in Church and State. Of patriotism on the larger imperial scale there was

little or none outside the immediate circle of the Emperor, except in the Church and then primarily among the monastic fiefs. As the Church had given the impulse which led to the revival of the Empire in the West, so now within the Church the "forward movement" developed on the lines of monastic discipline for the purpose of turning the nominal unity into a reality. No one probably could have foreseen the Burgundian papacy in which the struggle for solidarity in the Church resulted. But the student of history should not fail to note that the sin of sacrificing principle to expediency here as elsewhere brings its own punishment. When Charlemagne abandoned his opposition to image-worship in order to obtain the imperial crown of Rome, he built the fire of that fundamental difference between southern and northern catholicism which burst into flame at the Reformation. When the advocates of a centralised West European patriotism suppressed the ancient synodical liberties, they were preparing the way for the modern claims of the Roman bishop to be the "Abbot" of an episcopal order which owes him obedience of the regular monastic type, subject only to the liberties which he from time to time allows.

The older synodical order followed the social model universal in the pagan Roman Empire, the theory of which was that a vast number of small, independent republics were under the general overlordship of the central authority, which in the older provinces was the Senate and in the newer dominions the Augustus. Each such republic consisted of a city with the district surrounding it, and its free citizens had exactly that measure of liberty allowed to them which their "treaty" with Rome allowed. A man could be (and often was) a freeman of more than one city, especially in the Levant where the Syrian Kings had long been accustomed to extend the privilege of citizenship of their capital, Antioch, not only to favoured individuals, but also to whole communities. From the celebrated case

of St. Paul every school-boy knows that the same policy was adopted by Rome until, towards the end, every freeman of any city in the *oikoumene* became automatically a citizen of the imperial city also. This, however, is a later stage. In the first century geography played a very small part in political or religious classification. Where there was a considerable "dispersion" of freemen from any city (for example, from Jerusalem, what we should call the Jewish "nation") in other cities, these were organised regularly as "cities within cities" for the maintenance of the status secured to their mother-city by treaty. The institutional form followed by all these communities, whether genuine cities or foreign colonies within their jurisdiction, was uniform. There was an *ecclesia* or roll of freemen who formed what may be called a grand jury, trying cases and settling the laws by their decisions, and a council or senate of notables from whom the executive was drawn. Within their liberties under the overlord the community was self-governing.

To the Christians their "City" was neither Jerusalem nor Rome, but the "New Jerusalem which cometh down from heaven from my God." Meanwhile they were strangers and sojourners organised in *ecclesiae* in the (earthly) cities where they dwelt. Their senates (what we call synods) were the "elders" (presbyters or priests) chosen by the Apostles and ordained by the laying on of hands. Each synod had a presiding magistrate called the *episkopos* or inspector. The Apostles, on the other hand, held their commission from the King of the heavenly city. They were not only independent of the local *ecclesiae* but in the same relation thereto as the imperial or senatorial officers of Rome were to the districts or provinces where they represented the supreme overlord. As the number of Christians increased the *ecclesia* of any particular place was no longer confined to the city in which the original group met to "break the bread," but spread over the countryside. Its elders were scattered in the various

towns and villages and the office of *episkopos* became sufficiently important to make it advisable to consecrate its holder as an Apostle, so that he could interpret to the synod what was the teaching and practice of the whole Church. After the Constantinian settlement this became more and more the general rule, and in the time of Gregory, as far as the West is concerned, the office of Bishop (*episkopos*) was rarely held separately from that of local representative of the Apostolate. If consecration was refused to the Bishop-elect he was forced to withdraw even if he had taken up his duties, as in the case of Abbot Spearhafoc from the See of London under Edward the Confessor.

Synodical rule was executed by the Bishop, as local chief magistrate, acting with the concurrence of the Synod, whose functions were thus primarily judicial, empowering him to set the ecclesiastical machinery of law to work. It functioned through three committees—the Synodical Judges (whose title explains their office), the Synodical Witnesses (whose business it was to watch what was done and report irregularities to the Synod), and the Synodical Examiners (who had the power to authorise the Bishop to refuse the Church's consent to unsuitable appointments). The decisions of any of these Committees required the formal confirmation in full Synod to have force at law. We must, of course, be very careful not to read back our later English constitutional deductions from this system into the practice of early times. The whole synodical order assumes agreement between the Bishop and his Synod. In the vast majority of issues it was probably held that the Synod was bound to support the policy of its chief magistrate—a point of view inevitable in the days of persecution and, when these were past, inseparable from the place of the Church in the imperial polity. However "democratic" in concept all institutions have the same tendency in practice. The rank and file of a Trades Union, even the House of Commons itself, vote subserviently at the bidding of their trusted leaders.

Only when the policy set is persistently and vitally opposed to the "synodical will" does the opposition take the form of a hostile vote. Where this occurred two courses were open to the Bishop. Either he could change his policy so as "to feed the flock of Christ not by constraint but willingly" (1Pe.5²), or he could endeavour to compel obedience by administrative pressure. It is important to note that, even where a Bishop coerced his Synod, he had to do so according to forms of law, as since the Council of Trent is again the practice of the Latin Churches. Otherwise the civil "overlord" might be called upon to intervene as the protector of the Law and Order of the whole *oikoumene* whether in Church or State.

Especially in those parts of the Holy Roman Empire where the dominant class was composed of the descendants of the northern conquerors, the synodical order was a real hindrance to international patriotism. Where the prince favoured independence, the local Church was a powerful lever for its assertion. Where he was imperially-minded, the possibility of legal opposition to his policy was a danger requiring constant watching in an age of ambition, intrigue and war. He was generally more than willing to ally himself with the Bishop for the purpose of strengthening the authority of the administration, ecclesiastical or civil, and the course followed was to treat all liberties not as inherent in those enjoying them but as privileges conferred from above. In the Church throughout Western Europe the practice of ignoring the Synods gradually became universal. An alternative legal procedure was set up by the Bishop and buttressed by his undoubted Apostolic status. Instead of the discipline exercised through the Synodical Witnesses, Bishops held personal visitation of their dioceses, and their subordinate officials did the same under their warrants. Episcopal courts usurped the functions of the Synodical Judges and through the Rural Deans and his own

Chaplains the Bishop dealt with the scrutiny of appointments.

In England this movement, for the supercession of corporate government by personal, developed parallel to, rather than as part of, the general continental "reform." As in the case of Theodore's suppression of the Celtic succession, the effort to establish "regular" discipline in the Church was influenced primarily by local needs, and in our *oikoumene* the danger against which the strengthening of authority was desired was external, namely the Danish incursions. Loose as the national organisation was, English statesmen of the time of Alfred had no reason to fear a disintegration of the Anglo-Saxon people. The weakness they had constantly to contend with was the slowness with which the people could be moved to concerted actions. The Danish attacks came fiercely and without notice, while the machinery of defence was cumbrous. Before the orders of the King or the ealdormen had legal force, a council had to assemble to endorse their action. Two possible remedies were apparent—either the freemen of the nation must be educated so as to respond more readily of their own motion to the call from above, or they must be broken in to obey orders without question. The former was Alfred's way, and under him the old Anglo-Saxon kingdom had its golden age. His successors, under the influence of Archbishops Odo and Dunstan, adopted the latter policy, and brought about swiftly a total, though temporary, eclipse of the English tradition. When we speak of the history of the Church of England in the tenth century being filled with the struggle between the "seculars" and "regulars" for supremacy, we should remember that questions like the celibacy of the clergy were subsidiary and incidental to the main issue, namely, the claims and nature of authority. The "regular" contention (which is the fundamental legal concept not only of the modern Roman Catholic Church, but also of most of the continental civil codes)

was that, where there is no law giving permission, action is illegal. The older or "secular" tradition (which in spite of bitter persecution and treachery the English successfully maintained) was that, where there is no law refusing permission, action is legal.

Alfred died in A.D. 901, leaving the Church of England entirely staffed with secular priests. There does not seem to have been a single religious community left with the monastic rule of obedience. Even Augustine's foundation at Canterbury had become a collegiate body. The reaction began in A.D. 942, when Odo, a naturalised Dane, became Archbishop of Canterbury, and it was pushed forward with determination, at times even ruthlessly. For the most part the Kings supported the "regular" party, which claimed (and not without justice in many respects) to be the champions of a higher Christian ethic and of a higher culture generally than the rude and still "half-barbarian" English. To a man like Dunstan, Odo's successor, the insular opposition to reforms copied from continental models must have seemed the work of the devil. For, strange as it may seem to us, he represented the Puritanism of the time and the moral side of the disciplinary problem was certainly not less important than the political. The opposition to his measures was by no means always due to a high-souled love of freedom as a general principle. As often as not it was the assertion of a selfish and violent individualism based on the appeal to force. For this reason the immediate result of Dunstan's policy was a state of confusion which laid England open to conquest by the rulers of the kindred races around, first by the Danes and finally by William of Normandy.

With the Norman Kings the continental influence on the Church of England reached its height, and its predominance lasted a little over two centuries. The period is of special importance because of the intimate connection which the Norman race had with the new phase of the Holy Roman Empire inaugurated by the

Burgundian popes. In the eighth century, Rome had called in Charlemagne to redress the balance against the Lombards and the Greeks. Three hundred years later she made use of the Normans against the successors of Charlemagne. Only on the assumption that the end justifies the means can this policy be justified. The ecclesiastical patriot could claim, and rightly claim, that the principal (if not the only) force working for unity was the Church, but in using the weapons of the flesh to achieve that unity, Rome laid the foundation for more than one disastrous new division. The attempts made by "Crusades" to add the lost Syrian provinces of the Eastern patriarchates to the Latin Empire hopelessly antagonised Greek Christianity. The unceasing struggle to humble the German princes destroyed the whole fabric of the Western Empire. And the over-insistence on the supremacy of the Latin culture brought about a reaction which finally rent the Church from top to bottom.

Strangely enough, the permanent establishment at the Norman conquest of the "reforms" of Odo and Dunstan marks not the assimilation but the divergence of the English and the continental Churches. The Normans were very definitely fighting for their own hands and their alliance with the papacy was political rather than religious. When, as in England, one of their princes obtained a dominion which was not part of the Empire, he was very careful to make it quite plain that, as King, he was subject to no imperial authority. The Church of England, on the other hand, he recognised as being an integral part of the imperial Church and, in consequence, within its liberties, responsible to a foreign overlord. Such a system was absolutely impossible. It led to struggle after struggle between the two conflicting and overlapping authorities until at last it was abolished by the statutes of *præmunire* (A.D. 1353, etc.), the principle of which receives its final statement in the XXXIX. Articles—"the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in the realm

of England." The word *in* is important. That the Roman Church, through its Bishop, had some sort of jurisdiction *over* England, does not seem to have been questioned. As regards their complete internal independence, however, the English Church and nation had not the slightest hesitation in re-asserting the constitutional theory of pre-Norman times. If the old order was not entirely restored, the reason is to be found in the changed relation of the kingly office to the commonwealth. Before the Conquest, the King of England was the chief executive officer of the confederation of free peoples whose affairs he was allowed to overlook. His heirs had no "property-claim" to the Crown which the Witenagemote could not legally set aside in the general interest. From the time of William I. the King tended more and more to develop into a supreme lord, whose will could be imposed on Church and State alike and might not legally be resisted. The ancient synodical tradition was, as far as possible, set aside by manipulating institutional forms of law rather than by actual revolutionary process. And we have to admit that the officials of the Church, the machinery of which was either in foreign hands or under foreign influence, lent themselves to the furtherance of the royal pretensions. The price paid for the establishment of "regular" discipline in the Church of England was the sacrifice of the national freedom to the King's Majesty—the preparation of the throne of Alfred for the Tudors and the Stuarts.

Præmunire left the monastic foundations of England in the air, so to speak. For the most part they held their liberties from the Roman Church and claimed exemption from diocesan control. Many of them, moreover, belonged to international orders and owed obedience to foreign Abbots or similar dignitaries as well as to the Pope. Many also had parishes (often numerous parishes) attached to them. Under the Lancastrian Kings of the fifteenth century the attempt was made to reconcile the conflict of jurisdic-

tion—English and “imperial”—by our Archbishops being appointed Papal legates. But it was evident that, with the revival of the authority of the national Church, the days of the continental orders in England were numbered. Not only were no new monasteries founded, but the process of dissolution began at once, the property thus freed being handed over to colleges of secular priests. Winchester College and Magdalen, Oxford, are two famous examples of this “spoliation.” But the most significant sign of the change in policy generally is the provision which Bp. Oldham inserted in the statutes of his Grammar School at Manchester forbidding the appointment of a “regular” priest as Master. It is absurd to conclude (as many Protestant writers do) that the monastic orders were inferior in learning or in morals to the rest of the Church, the Bishops of which were the national educational authority. Oldham’s objection to entrusting education to regulars lay far deeper—in the atmosphere, the discipline of mind, the scholastic type which was produced. On all sides, Anglo-Saxondom was resurgent. A new school of literature had arisen of which Chaucer is the most notable representative, and which was destined in a very few generations to take a commanding position in the world. The Scriptures and other religious books were translated into “modern” English by Wycliff and his followers, following the Saxon precedents of Bede, Alfred and Aelfric. Theological controversy even began to be conducted in the vulgar tongue, and native scholarship was led to challenge the accepted Latin system of the Dominican Thomas Aquinas, especially those sacramental deductions which that great divine had made from the natural philosophy of Aristotle. It was easy for the Lancastrian Kings to support the last struggles of Latinism in England by passing their disgraceful statute “for the burning of heretics.” It was more difficult, indeed impossible, to make the Thomist theory of “substance” and “accidents” probable, or even intelligible, in the English

tongue. Quite clearly, all through the fifteenth century, the time was rapidly approaching when the Church of England would not only claim but would formally assert the independence which it had in the days of Theodore, and, if the Bishops of Rome (as Patriarch of the West) refused to recognise the status of their Archbishops by the outward visible sign of the pallium, would carry on without it. When the fall of Constantinople left Rome as the only "imperial" centre of Christendom, nothing but the wisest and most moderate counsels in the Church of the latter city could have avoided an open breach. This, the capture of the Conciliar movement by a subtle and unscrupulous Italian clique rendered (from their point of view) unnecessary, and a further lasting division of the One Church became inevitable.

It would, however, be more true to history to say that the Churches of England and of Rome drifted apart rather than that a revolt took place. Certainly there was no overt action on our side, and to this day there is nothing in our Church Law to prevent us from deferring in matters of dispute to the judgment of the Pope. The Edwardian statutes of *præmunire* forbade the submission of causes to "foreign" tribunals and made the procuring of such judgments a penal offence. But this was done simply to protect the local *ecclesiæ* from coercive process from without. In Catholic order, as in plain, practical fact, a judgment can only become effective when it is accepted by the local *ecclesia* in which the issue arose. *Præmunire* allowed the superior jurisdiction of the provincial Council of Diocesans (Convocation) over individual *ecclesiæ* (i.e., dioceses), though for a time the lawyers disputed even this on the ground that the Church as an institution, not being subject to the King's Courts, must be reckoned as a "foreign" power. But this extraordinary claim never made good at law, although it was advanced as late as 1513 in an ecclesiastical case for the recovery of fees in the London diocese. It has

certainly nothing to do with Henry VIII's Acts of Supremacy, which simply restate the position laid down by *præmunire* in terms of the new constitutional theory advanced by Nicolas Machiavelli, that the source of all jurisdiction (temporal and spiritual) in a Christian state is the Prince whom God has chosen to rule over it. Of the baneful effect of this proposition, the last continental movement to influence the Church of England seriously, something will be said later. For the moment it is sufficient to note that the Convocations only accepted the new terminology, after much hesitation, with the qualifying phrase *quantum per Christi legem licet*. Archbishop Warham had Henry VIII's agreement to this reservation—all-important because the interpretation of the Law of Christ is undoubtedly a spiritual matter—but the King and Parliament dishonourably passed their statutes without it. They thus established a precedent which in the nineteenth century was to lead to appalling consequences, although in the Statute for the Restraint of Appeals it was explicitly enacted "that the nation was a complete body within itself . . the body spiritual thereof having power, when any cause of the law divine happened to come in question or of spiritual learning, to declare and interpret by that part of the body politic called the spirituality, now being called *Ecclesia Anglicana*" (24 Henry VIII. c. 12. *preamble*).

On the general question of the relation of the Church of England to the Western Patriarchate, the furthest the Convocations would go was to pass, in the form of resolutions, a few very elementary statements of fact. For example, in 1534, Canterbury voted "that the Roman Bishop has no greater jurisdiction given to him *by God* in this kingdom than any other foreign bishop." Even this was too strong for York, which only concurred after altering *by God* to *in the Holy Scriptures*. Probably the vast majority of the English (including the King) wished sincerely to defer to Rome as the Patriarchal Church of the West in every possible way, "not by constraint but willingly" to use St. Peter's

phrase. Possibly also a very large number of Churchmen would be equally glad to do so to-day. But the local Church of Rome has proved itself since the days of the Burgundian Popes so utterly untrustworthy and grasping that a prior condition for "union" or "re-union," is a formal and canonical acceptance on their part of the general principle of Catholic consent. It is quite one thing for a Church to defer, against its own judgment, to the opinion of the patriarchate as put forward by the Bishop of the patriarchal metropolis in response to a request for such. There is a fundamental difference in allowing that ministerial function to be dishonestly twisted into a God-given privilege and used for the personal aggrandisement of the patriarch and his court. However loath the other Churches of the patriarchate may be to assert their inherent constitutional independence, sooner or later they will be forced to point out that their "obedience" is corporate and not personal—to the One Church of Christ and not to any officer or group of officers therein.

The sole action on the part of the Church of England which can be cited as a definite breach with Rome, makes our position quite clear. It deals with a purely financial matter, the patriarchal claim advanced to tax bishops on their appointment. In 1532, Warham being Archbishop of Canterbury, Convocation petitioned the King as follows:—

Forasmuch as all good Christian men be more bound to obey God than man, and forasmuch as St. Paul willeth us to withdraw ourselves from all such as walk disorderly, it may please the King's most noble majesty to ordain in this present Parliament, that then the obedience of him and his people be withdrawn from the See of Rome, as in like case the French King withdrew his obedience of him and his subjects from Pope Benedict XIII. (A.D. 1395), and arrested by authority of his Parliament all such *annates*, as it appeareth by good writing ready to be showed.

—Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii., 760.

Parliament took action in accordance with this, but no open breach occurred, in spite of the fact that before the statute became law, Warham died, and a good op-

portunity offered for the Pope to retaliate by refusing the pallium to Warham's successor. He did not do so, and, by a curious coincidence, the last time Rome was formally accepted in England as voicing the Western patriarchate was in the reception of the bull of consecration issued to the new Archbishop, Thomas Cranmer (A.D. 1533). We may, therefore, conclude that this "withdrawal of obedience" by the Church of England was not regarded by either side as an act of schism, but simply as suspension of relations pending the settlement of a minor issue. Since this is the only "act of schism" on our part, it may be suggested (in all seriousness) that if Rome is earnest in desiring to heal the breach, she may, without sacrifice of principle or of pride, withdraw her claim to tax the Church of England against our will. Such a withdrawal would, it is true, be only a gesture, for no-one to-day would assert that she had such a power. But it would be a real guarantee of good faith, and would place the whole situation in the right historical perspective for the examination of more vital differences.

Cranmer was burnt alive in 1556, and, after a short primacy of the papal legate, was succeeded by Parker (1559), the first Archbishop of Canterbury not officially recognised by the patriarchal Church of the West. Informally, recognition was, however, not withheld, for the English episcopate was invited by Pius IV. to appear at the Council of Trent (1561)—an invitation which it was impossible to accept without admitting papal control of General Councils. It was not until 1570 that Rome took steps to establish a definite state of schism, a policy which, to this day, has never been imitated by the Church of England. In Henry VIII's time, the dispute about jurisdiction was still an internal affair of the Western patriarchate, and, following the old method of pushing his pretensions, the Pope laid England under an interdict. This was completely disregarded at the time, and even at Mary's accession, no

attempt was made to enforce it. Parliament, with some difficulty, was coerced into repealing all that had been done since the death of Henry VIII., but the Church took no action beyond accepting certain doctrinal resolutions ostensibly to supply a legal test for "Lutheranism" in England. Obviously, the theory of Gardiner and later of Pole was that the Church of England had never gone wrong of its own motion. It had been constrained under the illegitimate son of Henry by those governing in his name, and now only required purging of the heretics who had usurped the bishoprics, etc. held by Catholics in 1547. When this had been done through the intervention of the Sovereign—it is important to note that the purgation was achieved by the same unconstitutional process as the intrusions—all that was necessary was the submission of *Parliament* to the Pope, and Mary had been sixteen months on the throne before the necessary vote could be taken. Convocation concurred and the land was solemnly absolved by the papal legate, who sixteen months later became also Archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer being burnt alive to make room for him.

With the question of the orthodoxy of those who suffered under Mary we are not in this connection concerned. We have to distinguish clearly between the constitutional and the doctrinal differences which cause the separation of the Church of England from the rest of the Western patriarchate, and it is important to notice that the Acts of Supremacy were not openly challenged by the papal party. As has been already pointed out, these statutes simply restated the principle of *præmunire* in terms of the new political theories of the great Florentine statesman, Nicholas Machiavelli, and a word should be said now about these. At the end of the fifteenth century the cultural centre of the world was in Italy, especially among the city-states of the northern plains. There the old imperial problem of the adjustment of local and central claims to jurisdiction was boiled down to the relations be-

tween the theoretically free republics (most of which were changing into hereditary principalities) and the Pope-Kings who dreamt of uniting Italy under the temporal as well as spiritual oversight of Rome. To meet the situation, Machiavelli advanced the proposition that, inasmuch as God willed that the Church could only exercise jurisdiction by consent of the civil magistrate, in the Christian Empire the "prince" must be regarded as the immediate source of all jurisdiction (temporal and spiritual) within the boundaries of his dominion. For the administration of law he was, of course, responsible to the central imperial authorities, the Emperor as the secular overlord and the Pope as the spiritual. As a Christian minister he held from both.

Machiavelli's constitutional theory was an ingenious one—the best solution ever offered of the investiture controversy which had been distracting the Empire since the days of the Burgundian popes—and it rapidly won general acceptance. At first hostile, Rome quickly accepted it because in Italy (the only country that really mattered to an Italian) the Pope-King was a lot and the Emperor very little. In Germany, the Electors and other "minor royalties" were equally favourable, for the opposite reason that to be the sole immediate source of jurisdiction assisted the assertion of local independence against the central authority of the Emperor. In a way it may be said that Machiavelli's political theory was one of the strongest factors in the Reformation, for it became a principle in the imperial system that *Cujus regio illius religio*. Orthodoxy meant conformity to the religious system enforced under the jurisdiction of the "prince," and the unfortunate citizens of the German states might find themselves Catholic one year and Protestant the next, when the throne changed hands. Consequently, whichever side a man might be, the all-important thing was to secure that, when a "prince" died, his

successor should be a man of the same "right mind."

Thomas Cromwell was responsible in England for modifying the constitutional position of the English King in accordance with the Machiavellian doctrine. It is uncertain whether he ever met the great Florentine statesman, but he certainly brought back the teaching of the latter from his sojourn in Northern Italy, and the Act of Supremacy was the result. As said before, this statute was not seriously opposed in any quarter at home or abroad. The wisest men of the time, like Sir Thomas More, had indeed grave doubts of what the ultimate effect would be when all the implications of the claims therein were realised. But it was with regard to the succession and not to the Supremacy that More went to the scaffold. He declined to give his reason for refusing the oath, but there can be little doubt that the determining factor was the removal of the only check on the tyranny of "divine right." The crown of England ceased, under the oath, first set up by Henry, to be a ministry and became an inalienable property right. Until that time the Church, either through the Pope or by refusal of the sacring, could withhold recognition to an unworthy successor, and there were good precedents both for this and for the ejection of Kings who forfeited the allegiance of their subjects by unconstitutional action. In matters temporal the abandonment of such a safeguard for liberty was bad enough, but in matters spiritual, what was happening in Germany was sufficient warning to a statesman with More's vision. Although he would accept the issue of Anne Boleyn as Henry's heir-at-law because such succession was properly enacted, More could not give the unconditional pledge required in the statutory oath "without jeopardising his soul to perpetual damnation," as he truly said. Only one Bishop, the great reformer, Fisher of Rochester, supported More, and he also suffered death. The history of the next 150 years abundantly justifies their opposition

and commends their courage. Of the rest the outstanding men, like Gardiner or Bonner, accepted Machiavelli's "prince" completely and were equally ready to support Henry VIII. or Mary. Others, probably the majority, only acquiesced in the changed constitutional outlook with reluctance, as a lesser evil than open revolt. Tunstall of Durham is the classical example. He led the York opposition to Henry, offered a passive resistance to Mary's pro-papal zeal, and finally, after anxious searchings of heart, refused to obey Elizabeth's warrant to consecrate Parker. However confusing the cross-currents of theological controversy may be, on the English side the constitutional struggle is perfectly clear throughout. It turns far less on the relations between the English Churches or the English state with the central authorities of Western Christendom than on the nature of the claim of the King of England (*his heirs and assigns*) to be the sole immediate source of all jurisdiction, both temporal and spiritual.

On the constitutional plane the position taken up by the Roman See is equally clear. But for the fact that England was not part of the Empire, it would be good in feudal law. Pope Paul III., following the precedent of King John's days, called on the Church of England to bring pressure on Henry VIII. by laying the land under an interdict, that is to say, by means of a ministerial strike against the nation—a measure which could only be effective if the English bishops and clergy gave their consent. This it was abundantly clear they had not the slightest intention of doing, and Paul's rash and bombastic proclamation (more in keeping with the work of a modern agitator than of a Christian patriarch) was allowed to be forgotten by both parties. But if, when the Church of England was ruled by Gardiner and Bonner, the old method of interdict was impossible, what alternative process could be adopted under the much less likely administration of Archbishop Parker? For the first twelve years of Eliza-

beth's reign, therefore, every effort was made from Rome to win over the person of the Queen. If this could be done, under the Royal Supremacy the Church over which (under the Machiavellian theory now universally accepted) she had immediate jurisdiction, would automatically be brought under the central authority. Accordingly the most generous offers were made. Her legitimacy and right to the succession would be allowed, and even, it is recorded, the substitution of the English Book of Common Prayer for the old Latin uses. It was not until it was obvious that submission was not to be obtained at any terms that a definite rupture with England was determined on. The Bull *Regnans in excelsis*, issued in A.D. 1570, which establishes a state of schism between the patriarchal Church of Rome and the Churches of England, is a very carefully drawn document and now that Machiavelli's doctrine of the "prince" was accepted on the continent, could only be challenged in feudal law on the grounds that England had never been part of the Empire. This little difficulty the King of Spain was quite willing, even anxious, to remove by force of arms. As a first step to such a consummation devoutly to be wished, the Bull declared the *deposition* of Elizabeth and forbade all true Catholics to make use of the ministrations of the Church under her jurisdiction. From that moment, and not from the consecration of Parker as was later maintained to meet changed conditions of political theory and religious controversy, the Church of England officially ceased to exist in the eyes of Rome. And, one may add, from that moment Rome also ceased (alas!) to exist in the eyes of England. A plaguy sect called "Roman Catholics" arose in the lands subject to the English crown, and this sect has consistently (except in England itself) tended to disloyalty because it is compelled to drink from definitely anti-English continental sources. At first their influence was a genuine danger to our independence, but each generation since Elizabeth's time has

seen it diminish as the European countries supporting the pope have fallen away from their allegiance. On neither the constitutional nor the theological plane has the development of the Church of England been affected by the Latin Churches, though it has been almost too responsive to other continental movements. The contrary is rather the case, if only because of the revolution in practice which followed the secession of Newman and Manning and is still quickening Roman Catholicism even at Rome itself.

The rupture between the Church of England and the patriarchal Church of Rome introduces a new feature into ecclesiastical history—the establishment of an orthodox autocephalous Church in isolation from the rest of Christendom. The parallel sometimes drawn with the “national” autocephalous Churches of the East is not exact, for the Greek, Syrian, and Slav Churches are autonomous only in voluntary submission to the general consent of all the different elements in their Communion. Their governing bodies, the Mixed Synods, are not final courts of appeal, but administrative councils, the constitution and distribution of which is determined by convenience and not by fixed constitutional theory. The isolation of the Churches of England, on the other hand, may be said to have created the Church of England in the sense that we understand it to-day as a self-contained and self-sufficient entity under the supreme control of the King in Convocation.

Before passing on to the development of the Church of England since the rupture with the Latins, it will be well, therefore, to sum up the constitutional history up to A.D. 1570.

1. Theodore founded the union of Churches in these islands and gave *Ecclesia Anglicana* an “imperial” character as the Church of a dominant race to which the subject peoples must conform.

2. Beginning with Dunstan, a determined and long-sustained effort was made to change the ancient

synodical order (universal until the revolt of Rome from Constantinople in the eighth century) into a system where the Bishop stood in the same relation to his clergy as an Abbot to his monks. Although assisted by foreign conquest (the Normans) the attempt to do this was only partially successful and then only for a time. In the fourteenth century the primitive and, therefore, Anglo-Saxon model began to reassert itself.

3. The capture of the Conciliar movement by the ecclesiastics of Italy and the decay of the Emperor's authority led to a general restatement of the constitution of the Western patriarchate. This took the form of a close union between (local) Church and (local) State in the person of the "Prince" in whom immediate jurisdiction was considered to be vested. The central authority in the Church (Rome) claimed the right to regulate the succession of "princes," so as to ensure that their jurisdiction was interpreted in an orthodox spirit. England refused to admit the claim and a rupture of relations took place which is still, to the scandal of Christendom, not only unhealed, but more complete to-day than in the beginning.

CHAPTER III.

WHAT THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND HAS BEEN SINCE THE
RUPTURE OF RELATIONS WITH THE PATRIARCHAL
CHURCH OF THE WEST.

IN tracing thus far the constitutional history of the Church of England, we have been able to avoid subjective criticism of the allied problems of faith and morals and to confine ourselves to the factual record. We have been concerned with methods rather than with doctrine—with the evolution of that confederation of Churches (dioceses) which form the English provinces rather than with its effectiveness as an instrument for spreading the Gospel of Truth.

Thus, it has not been necessary to attempt to judge Wycliff's criticisms of Thomism, the dominant Christian philosophy of the fourteenth century. We are content to note the fact that he laid down an acid-test for all theological propositions, namely, fidelity to Holy Scripture, and that he received a large measure of support in his own day, while 150 years after his position was almost unanimously accepted by the English Church. That the teaching of Wycliff came back *via* Bohemia and Geneva after being suppressed in England is important, from our present point of view, not for doctrinal reasons, but because in its travels it had become associated with the institutional system of the Frenchman, John Calvin. What had begun as a genuine movement for reform had developed revolutionary tendencies, as is always the case when authority is over-zealous in its suppression. The close, though not primitive, connection between the episcopate and the apostolate in the established system of prince-bishops led the Geneva School to repudiate any Church government except that of free Synods. In this way the denial of any ministry other than that

of the presbytery became an article of faith with the advanced section of the reforming party, who in civil affairs were equally critical of royal authority. Presbyterianism and Parliamentarianism were, so to speak, the two edges of the sword of democracy—the same constitutional theory giving institutional form to Church and State alike.

Nor need we inquire whether Machiavelli's thesis of the "Prince" as the immediate source of jurisdiction has any foundation in spiritual truth. What concerns us is the fact that it was accepted as such by the rulers both of the English and of the Latin Churches. Most of the faithful, also, in the early stages of the rupture between England and Rome, were quite ready to acquiesce and were almost (it may be said) impatient of discussion. For they held (as the typical Anglican holds to-day) that their business was to support authority unless it was glaringly and viciously contrary to the Word of God. Faith and loyalty were interchangeable terms, and, in consequence, conformity to the decrees of the Lord's anointed was a primary duty of the Lord's people. A few, like More and Fisher, could foresee the consequences likely to result from an attempt to interlock the divine sanction of the "supreme head" with the succession by unchecked "pillow-luck," to use Browning's expressive phrase. But it was not till a century later that the claim to an inalienable property right in the English crown (as if it were an ordinary estate) was effectively challenged.

When we come, therefore, to the actual rupture between the English and the patriarchal Church of the West, our principal concern here is with the rapidly maturing internal struggle between Episcopalian and Presbyterian with regard to the restatement of the constitution of the Church of England. A Roman Catholic may contend that the consecration of Parker was not in accordance with the ecclesiastical tradition; a Presbyterian may argue that it was not essential to the ministry as ordained by Christ himself. Neither

opinion affects the question of *fact*—namely, that Parker was appointed and consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in conformity with the established practice of that See. The “validity” of his ordination, to use the modern controversial term, was not challenged on either side. The pro-Roman party contested its legality on the ground that Elizabeth, not being the legitimate inheritor of the Crown, could not confer jurisdiction. The Presbyterians regarded the whole business of episcopacy as an interference with the spiritual liberties of the Church, which, according to their “higher criticism” depended on the presbytery. But the vast bulk of the nation were content with, if not enthusiastic for, the religious settlement established during Parker’s primacy, and neither minority could make much headway. The Roman Catholics, perhaps influenced by the gradual dying out of that section of the native episcopate which under Mary had sternly repressed the independence of the English Church, were the first to adopt revolutionary methods. In accordance with the Machiavellian doctrine they aimed first at substituting Mary of Scotland for Elizabeth, and, during the seventeenth century, to capture the royal house of Stuart. They left us the legacy of a Protestant succession as a counterblast to their intrigues, but, apart from this Nessus-shirt of the dead centaur of continentalism, Rome may be said to have been wiped off the slate of English history. Up to the present day the patriarchal Church has continued to foment trouble for England, but without any effective influence on the course of events. Meanwhile, the spread of English institutions in Europe has placed it in more or less open opposition in nearly every civilised state. No English Catholic can view the present situation with anything but regret, not to say alarm, but unfortunately there seems little prospect of the Bishops of Rome regaining that sense of corporate responsibility which alone can restore their lost status in the Church. ;

The Presbyterians, on the other hand, rapidly developed into a formidable opposition to the Reformation Settlement arrived at under Parker's primacy. On the doctrinal side they seem to have had very little following except in certain restricted academic circles, but on the constitutional issue probably a majority of the nation was with them from the start. For both in Church and in State they stood for the ancient synodical order, for the principle that he who is responsible to God shall be responsible to his brethren also. Unfortunately, the Tudors and their new aristocracy, enriched by the plunder of the Church, were determined to prevent the limitation of the powers which they had inherited from the Norman Conquest. Gardiner and Cranmer could count on their support in reasserting the Anglo-Saxon independence of continental authority in matters of language, ceremonial and even of doctrine. But the revival of the free institutions of the Church was quite another matter. The royal authority had too much trouble with Parliament to be willing to agree to the ancient Synods once again functioning properly. The proposals for this reform were shelved, and, to our national disgrace be it said, at the very time when the Council of Trent was ordering every Bishop to consult his Synod at least once a year, the last vestiges of the old order were being removed in England. Convocation, indeed, survived until the temporary triumph of the monarchy under Charles II., but otherwise "regular" discipline was very completely enforced—the Prince being the supreme source of all jurisdiction, and the Bishops his spiritual ministers wielding a similar authority in the geographical areas to which they were appointed. If presbyteries had been substituted for bishops, probably the greater number of the thorough-going supporters of Calvin in England would have been content with such a system, for they had little or no belief in religious liberty as we understand it to-day. But to the more ordinary Englishman the

real objection lay in the claims of government to make laws and regulations without the consent of the governed. The Presbyterian movement in the Church was, therefore, exactly parallel to the Parliamentary movement in the State. In both cases we have an Anglo-Saxon revolt against the current doctrine of the "Prince" as the source of jurisdiction, or, to use the later phrase, the Divine Right of Kings to claim an unquestioned obedience from their subjects. During the next century England was torn between the contending parties, but the final result was inconclusive. In secular matters the Parliamentarians made good. In the Church authority established itself as autocratic subject to such limitations as the civil law enforced with regard to what may be called property-claims attaching to benefices and similar freeholds, and to one further limitation which has proved to be of very wide-reaching importance. This we have now to consider, for it introduced a completely new factor into both the ecclesiastical and the secular organisation of society.

The Presbyterian party did not follow the example of the Roman Catholics in seceding from the national Church "as by law established." Instead, they used to the utmost the freedom inherent in all English institutions, namely, that everything is lawful which is not legally forbidden. They asserted, therefore, the right of free association for the purpose of "completing the reformation of religion." Since the Diocesan presbytery (i.e., synod) did not meet, they formed voluntary presbyteries all over England which passed informal "decrees," which those who adhered to such association put into practice, each in his own parish. In other words, they invented that procedure which the modern Church of England has come to regard as proper and normal, in spite of the danger of anarchy, and by means of which first the Evangelicals and then the Tractarians have produced very remarkable results. Its successful employment depends in the first instance

on the permanent dislike of the English to any legislation restricting an existing liberty, and the necessity for Parliamentary consent to changes in the law protects anyone or anything which is not a public nuisance in the judgment of the majority. Every new situation in the evolution of English social order presents anomalies which the administration cannot deal with simply by issuing its orders. If it attempts to enforce its own interpretation of law, it can be challenged in the courts. "Law-breaking" cannot be defined by authority, but only after formal judicial process and argument. One is not surprised, therefore, to find that the Presbyterians (or, as they were afterwards called, the Puritans) were specially strong as lawyers. For they had the whole-hearted support in Parliament of an able and vigorous minority, which at any moment could become a majority, in rejecting legislation which threatened to interfere with general liberties. Although the Puritan party was not itself popular, there was a general suspicion of the growing claims of the Crown, and many, who cordially disliked the religious side of their activity, came to regard them as the spear-head of the defence of the commonwealth against the court. In money matters alone the rapacity of the latter during the economic upheaval of the confiscation of Church property under Henry VIII. was not forgotten.

The Diocesans of the Church of England made little attempt to combat the spread of Presbyterianism by constitutional means, that is to say, by legislation with Parliamentary consent. They relied mainly on the vague powers of the Royal Supremacy conferred first on Henry VIII. in accordance with the Machiavellian doctrine of the position of the "Prince." Technically, the Supremacy Acts were, indeed, patient of the construction that in matters ecclesiastical an Order in Council made law, though there can be no doubt that there was no intention on the part of the Parliaments and Convocation which passed them to take away the ancient right of refusing consent. The whole position

was considered as temporary, a hurried assertion of the *imperial* (i.e., independent) status of England and her King in relation to the continent. Parker and Whitgift, therefore, cannot be acquitted of the accusation of acting on that other doctrine associated with Machiavelli's name—to do evil that good may come. There was certainly a touch of dishonest administration in taking advantage of Cranmer's failure to re-establish the full Anglo-Saxon synodical order, while straining to the utmost the authority placed in the hands of the King to defend his Church against papal aggression. For once the powers claimed by Elizabeth and the first two Stuarts were declared to be unconstitutional, and without further legislation, the civil courts themselves have protected the adherents of organised movements (parallels to the later Evangelicalism and Tractarianism) against authority. By over-riding such liberty in the case of the Presbyterians, the Bishops, at the end of the sixteenth century, tied the Church to the support of the property-claims of the monarchy. "No Bishop, no King" was James I's cogent reason for supporting episcopacy. "No King, no Bishop" became the equally effective reason for resisting the assertion of parliamentary rights against the Crown.

The bitter struggle between Episcopalian and Presbyterian, which cost a King his head and gave England for ten years a republican form of government, we are fortunately not under the necessity of considering here. As before said, the nett result was a victory for parliament in civil affairs, and for unsynodical authority in the Church. But the struggle between the contending parties left a bye-product which has been destined to change the whole religious situation in England. No doubt to the disgust of the Presbyterian, even more than of the Bishops themselves, the doctrine of free association was pushed a step further by what afterwards earned the name of "Independency." The Presbyterians claimed the right to hold conventions of

those who were united in the desire to reform the Church of England along the lines laid down by Calvin. Robert Brown asserted the right of any group of men to give effect to their religious convictions in their own way and to form a group or "church" for the purpose. More than that, his followers held that it was a definite Christian duty for individuals to separate from the general body when their spiritual needs were unsatisfied. Inspiration was to them a purely personal gift, the effect and counterpart of election. The "Church of England," from this point of view, was the abyss of waters over which the Spirit moved and made it pregnant. In itself, as an organisation, such a Church had no God-given authority; it was the sum-total of the "churches," the groups of men of like mind who assembled themselves together in the service of the Lord Jesus Christ. At its best, therefore, Independency was (and is) an expression of that doctrine of the Inner Light which has inspired mystics of all ages and creeds, and the various "enthusiastic" sects, such as the Quakers and the English Baptists like John Bunyan, are simply extreme examples of the same belief in personal guidance. At its worst (and this has been the most usual result) Independency degenerates into a denial of all "spiritual" gifts by identifying these with the intellect and in consequence undervaluing all that cannot be "proved" by the processes of reason. On the constitutional plane it differs from the older (pre-diocesan) Catholic system principally in the denial of the Apostolate. Given a college of Apostles at Jerusalem to define intellectual belief and to control the "Churches" by the ordination of a sacramental ministry, there is little or nothing in Independency which is inconsistent with the arrangements outlined in *Acts*.

If Brown and his followers had been quieter, or if there had been no organised Presbyterian attack on the established order, they would probably have been tolerated by ecclesiastical authorities in spite of what may be (not unkindly) described as their "anarchical tend-

ency." The situation, civil and religious, being what it was, Independency was regarded as an even more dangerous revolutionary impulse than Presbyterianism. It had, however, a peculiar appeal to the English character, and many of the very best of the Puritans, such as John Milton, belonged to that section of the party of reform. After the triumph of the parliamentary cause the Independents proved to be stronger than the Presbyterians and grasped the reins of power. Probably, indeed, both during the Civil War and under the Protectorate of their great leader, Cromwell, they were supported by many who, but for the civil issue, would have been loyal episcopalians, and who preferred the doctrine of "free association" to the rigid austere rule of the "New Presbyter" who was "but old priest writ large." In fact, the liberty which the Independents advocated was so opposed to the whole spirit of Presbyterianism, that the latter party went over bodily to the royalist side in order to re-establish "proper discipline" in the Church. They had reason to hope for a revival of the old synodical order as their price for the acceptance of episcopacy, but Charles II. cheated them in this as he cheated most people with whom he had to do. The nett result, therefore, of the ecclesiastical struggles of the seventeenth century was the complete, and apparently final, triumph of the Tudor or Machiavellian system as far as the National Church was concerned. Under certain restrictions, however, men were allowed to declare themselves "dissenters" and to hold religious services according to their own conception of the teaching of Christ.

Probably few, if any, realised that the "Toleration of Dissenters" Acts were really the triumph of Independent principles. Bishops and statesmen might think that they had simply allowed freedom of worship to dissenters. What they had really done was to make membership of the National Church voluntary.

At first this was not apparent because the English clergy discharged a number of civil functions on behalf

of the State, such as marriage, and the Church Courts dealt with a number of secular matters, such as probate. For such matters, all Englishmen were of necessity "members" of the Church of England because they were citizens of the Realm of England. The Toleration Acts were intended (1) to abolish the penalties enforceable at law on those who did not attend public worship in their parish Churches, (2) to allow, within limits, those who refused the Book of Common Prayer to join in corporate devotions of their own. They had still to accept the parochial, diocesan, and provincial authorities in all other matters, and to pay their quota as parishioners in the upkeep of the fabric of, and the public organisations connected with, the parish Churches. To all outward appearance the revised settlement of religion which marked the transition from the Stuarts to the Georges made little change in the agelong "establishment," that is to say, the contract for Christian government between Church and State. In actual fact it deprived the Diocesan and parochial organisations of all authority, *except over those who voluntarily accepted it.*

This began to be seen in the middle of the eighteenth century. The right of free association for *lawful* purposes had never been seriously contested even in Tudor times, although there had been serious disagreement as to what the term "lawful" meant. A very similar situation is within the memory of many of us to-day with regard to Trades Unionism. Towards the end of the Victorian period, Parliament passed several Acts in restriction of their activities with the object of defining the boundary between the pursuance of a proper object and conspiracy against the commonwealth. For the most part these experiments in legislation have had to be repealed since. The only difference (on the constitutional plane) between the Trades Union "danger" under Victoria and the Puritan "danger" under Elizabeth lay in the method adopted to define Law. In our day, authority had to look to Parliament for permission

to restrain; in the sixteenth century the disastrous attempt was made to substitute Orders in Council for the normal constitutional practice. I do not hesitate to use the word "disastrous" in this connection, though, so far, I have attempted to limit the present survey to constitutional fact. The reason is not because terrible trouble was brought on the Church under Charles I. on account of the support given by its leaders to the "Divine Right" theory. For fidelity to right is a more usual source of persecution than acquiescence in wrong. But with the Restoration of Charles II. many of the very best elements in the Church were tied, by the interpretation which they put on their oaths, to the defence of a Royal House and the social order dependent thereon which was openly profligate and even atheistic. Under these conditions the Bishops, unable to restrain, and unwilling to make an open stand, rapidly lost authority. The most faithful of the leaders of the Church were expelled for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to foreign Protestants, who (in their opinion) were intruded on Church and State by Parliament. At the final establishment of the Protestant Succession under George I., therefore, the Church of England had lost the most singleminded exponents of religion on both flanks—the Puritans and the Non-Jurors. The title "Anglican" began to acquire that peculiar "middle-party" connotation which it has to-day.

It is easy to blame the Bishops of the Georgian period, but in their defence it should be remembered that they were powerless. The failure of the English Reformers to re-establish the synodical order had left them without any method of organising public opinion. The failure of the "Divine Right" party to hold the Crown had deprived them of the support of the Royal Supremacy. The whole world, and England in particular, was weary of wars of religion, and indifference was generally accepted as being the most Christian of virtues in administrative matters. Zeal might be all

very well, but it was so often mistaken and led to such terrible results. There was really nothing for a wise Bishop to do except watch events and work for greater ministerial efficiency until genuine leadership became possible again. Samuel Wesley, writing in 1740 about the movement of his younger brother John, expresses the situation very concisely. "I am not afraid," he says, "that the Church should excommunicate him—discipline is at too low an ebb—but that he should excommunicate the Church. . . . He only who ruleth the madness of the people can stop them from being a formed sect. Ecclesiastical censures have lost their terrors—thank fanaticism on one side and atheism on the other. To talk of persecution from thence is mere insult."

Very much the same is true of the Continental Churches, except that (whether they remained faithful to the Western Patriarchate or had repudiated the Apostolic Order) they were in a different position owing to the fact that the "Prince" was not restrained by even the semblance of parliamentary rule outside England. The ecclesiastical authorities, both in Catholic and in Protestant countries, were able to forbid attempts to revive the spirit of zeal for the Gospel, and the civil power was not only ready but anxious to support them, because questioning of spiritual authority might incontinently at any moment turn to treason. In England the Toleration Acts secured the zealots at one extreme, and the political necessity of maintaining the Protestant succession made the Whigs equally determined to discourage any rebirth of a "Church" spirit because of the danger of Jacobitism. What could the Bishops who were faithful to their Apostolic character (as with very few exceptions the eighteenth century English Bishops were) do except adopt as their motto the counsel given by St. John to the Church in Sardis? "Be watchful, and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die; for I have not found thy works perfect before God. Remember,

therefore, how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast and repent " (*Rev.3²*).

Mention has been made of the use of the right of free association made by the Presbyterians for purpose of reforming the Church of England according to their views. That such a liberty existed was never seriously contested in principle by the English Episcopate, although they felt bound to use the Royal Supremacy to restrict its exercise. In the state of the Church after the expulsion of the Stuarts, not a few of the bishops (including Tennyson, Archbishop of Canterbury) openly encouraged the formation of what were known as the Religious Societies, which aimed at the reformation of morals and the general revival of religion. In 1710 there were no less than forty-two such societies in London and Westminster alone, collecting money and working for the opening of schools and the provision of extra sermons and services in the parish Churches. Although in the northern province the opposition of the Archbishop of York checked its growth, the movement spread all over the southern province and one Society, that founded in 1727 in connection with the University of Oxford, was destined to play a world-wide part in the history of religion.

The leaders of this Society, John and Charles Wesley, were descended on both sides from Independent ministers of the Commonwealth régime—which, it should be remembered, was still sufficiently recent for them to have had personal converse with survivors from that time. To this fact may be assigned two features of the genuine Methodist Revival (1) the active repudiation of Calvinistic theology, even at the price of a break-away of Whitefield and the Calvinistic Methods, (2) the determination to keep the new "Independency" within the Church. In the latter policy John Wesley was unsuccessful, and his brother Charles, who was the actual founder of the parent Oxford Society, dropped out of the movement. John, on the other hand, continued till his death to combat separa-

tion from the Church, although he could see nothing inconsistent with such "loyalty" in setting up a rival sacramental ministry. It was this action which ultimately forced the Methodists to declare themselves Dissenters, and which brought about a readjustment of ecclesiastical authority which is the great constitutional problem of the present day.

As long as Wesley and his followers confined themselves to preaching there was little opposition and much support of Methodism, even though the new Religious Societies built Chapels and organised congregations. Here and there individual incumbents and magistrates tried to suppress the Evangelical activities, generally from quite unworthy motives. But, on the other hand, many gave open encouragement to the preachers even though they were quite sensible of the dangers which might arise. The "ordination" of presbyters and even of bishops by John Wesley was quite a different matter—a definite challenge to Catholic order which could not be tolerated within the fold. Since the refusal of Episcopal sanction could not restrain such action, which is (whether right or wrong) a definite act of schism, the parish clergy were driven to assert their ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the chapels in their parishes. The test case is that brought by the incumbent of St. James', Clerkenwell, claiming the right to nominate the ministers of Northampton Chapel and to officiate therein. A decision being given in his favour, the congregation was compelled to register as "Dissenters," and the example was followed generally, though it was not until after Wesley's death that the Methodists formally organised themselves as a Church with the definitely presbyterian sacramental system which they still retain. Political and social forces played a large part in the schism. It was the beginning of the industrial era, when the urban population was struggling against the control of the nation by the landed interests, and the clergy generally were recruited from the latter. While not necessarily un-

sympathetic with the new developments, they were unable, with few exceptions, to follow the rapidly changing situation, and the occasionally violent outbreaks of mob-law naturally did not assist them in the adaptation of the old social order to the new. The very legal process to which they ultimately resorted, when the liberties claimed by the Methodist Societies became excessive, was territorial in character. Incumbents, like Squires, had certain "property rights" at law. In asserting these, as events proved, they were giving the Church a new and interesting constitutional problem, namely, the contention widely held to-day that the parish and not the diocese is the ecclesiastical unit and that the latter is a confederation of parishes over which a single Apostle exercises oversight.

During the nineteenth century events moved rapidly in the Church of England and in two diverging directions. Fighting every step, the official Church readjusted its machinery to the new conditions set up by the growth in numbers and in power of the manufacturing classes, the Reform of the House of Commons on democratic lines, the repeal of the Test Acts, the admission of Jews, Roman Catholics and other non-Churchmen to Parliament, and similar changes in the constitution. Unfortunately, the Bishops, who alone (owing to their seats in the Lords) were able to speak for the Church, were almost entirely lacking in vision and strove simply to "stablish the things that remain." They seem to have cared for little in the readjustment of the relations between Church and State except the maintenance of their own position as princes of the Church. They thought only in terms of parliamentary action and then only as great Whig lords. Sydney Smith's caustic criticism must be the verdict of history on their conception of Trusteeship. "The truth is," he wrote in his First Letter to Archdeacon Singleton, "that there are very few men in either House of Parliament who ever think of the happiness and comfort

of the working clergy, or bestow one thought upon guarding them from the increased and increasing power of their encroaching masters.¹ What is called taking care of the Church is taking care of the Bishops; and all bills for the management of the clergy are left to the concoction of men, who very naturally believe that they are improving the Church when they are increasing their own power."

Two illustrations will suffice of the policy which called forth this biting criticism.

(1.) When the Ecclesiastical Commission was set up, a completely new principle was introduced into the (temporal) constitution of the Church. Until 1840 the Church of England had no central fund of any kind. Each diocese, collegiate Church, parish or other corporation had its own property which it administered under the conditions of its own trusts. The power of taxing that property lay with the Lower House of Convocation, that is, with the clergy. As regards taxation for civil purposes, Convocation surrendered its rights to the House of Commons at the Restoration, but it had never considered the question of taxation for ecclesiastical purposes with a few possible obscure exceptions several centuries before. The Bishops agreed to allow Parliament to vary some of the most important trusts (the collegiate Churches which were their cathedrals) without even any consultation with the clergy. Moreover, on the "Ecclesiastical Commission" thus set up to act as a central public Trust all the Bishops and the three most important deans had seats but no provision was made for the representation of the clergy, nor has such a proposal been made since although the clergy have raised vast sums and placed them in the hands of the Commissioners.

¹The Canon is referring to the new democratic institutions which allowed non-Churchmen among the laity the same rights in Church affairs as Churchmen. This they still have, except of course in the second category of "voluntary" enterprise, which has grown up since his time.

(2.) When the administration of the civil law concerning Probate and Marriage was taken (quite justifiably, be it admitted) from the Church Courts, a new "Clergy Discipline Act" was passed to define the authority of the Diocesan over his clergy. Under this statute every trace of the ancient liberties was made to disappear. The Bishop was made prosecutor (either in person or by an approved "delator") and judge in his Diocesan Court. It is true that he was compelled to hear the case judicially with three assessors nominated by himself. But these were not even a jury. The decision as to law and as to the pronouncing of sentence lay with the Bishop. How this system works will be seen by the following recent case. The Vicar of Cury, in the Truro diocese, thought fit to hold a service which is not *ordered* in the Book of Common Prayer. The Bishop forbade him to do this on the very questionable legal ground that the Act of Uniformity in regulating *public* worship prohibits all private devotions except by permission of the ordinary. He cited the Vicar to appear, and on the latter's refusal declared him "deprived" of his benefice and took possession thereof by force. Whatever may be thought of the character of the service in question, no one who has the slightest acquaintance with English institutions will hesitate to condemn a procedure in which a single official interprets the law, sets in motion, judges the issue, and executes the sentence. It is Norman or Tudor tyranny in the worst form, and none the less unconstitutional because it touches neither life nor limb. There is nothing at all resembling it in any other department of English law. Even a military Court-martial is based on the principle of the judgment of an accused person by his peers.

All the time that the Bishops were agreeing to or initiating these "reforms" in the Church, it should be remembered, the Convocations were being assembled under the Royal writs in parallel to Parliament. But, although the clergy were excluded from the House of

Commons, there was so little inclination on the part of the Bishops to consult them that in 1841 (the year after the Discipline Act) not a single Bishop was present at the meeting. In consequence even the customary loyal address to the Queen could only be voted informally. That year, therefore, may be taken as the very lowest ebb that the liberties of the Church of England ever reached whether in Norman or Tudor or modern times. It is not to be wondered at that the right of individual action by parishes, either singly or in groups, became more and more strenuously asserted. "Schools of thought" (High, Low and Broad) organised themselves almost as Churches within the Church in the same way as the Presbyterians under Elizabeth. Following the example set by the Evangelical leader, Charles Simeon, they fortified their position not only by the accumulation of "voluntary" funds but by the establishment of Patronage Boards. Livings were purchased (and this is still going on) to secure the continuity of the party's hold on particular districts. Powerless to deal with the growing anarchy by the Discipline Act of 1840, Archbishop Tait, in 1874, allowed Parliament to pass a new Act setting up a Royal Court to try the clergy, although the Lower House of Convocation entered an emphatic protest against it. The Church proved almost unanimous in refusing to recognise this legislation, and, after four or five priests had been imprisoned under it, it has been allowed to drop into oblivion. But the nett result has been to leave the parochial authorities almost entirely without diocesan obligation except at their own free will—a limited form of Independency which only works by reason of that spirit of unity which no law can establish and no lack of law destroy.

While the Bishops were engaged in increasing the control of the Church by the Episcopate, and especially of strengthening the personal authority of the individual Diocesan, for the most part they continued the policy of "masterly inactivity" towards the voluntary

associations which during the nineteenth century came into being everywhere and for every purpose. The reason was less a lack of sympathy than the determination to control, coupled with a loss of reputation, personal and official, if associated with failure. Two effects of their caution are obvious, whether to-day we are to approve or not. There was a general quickening of religious activity on the part of the Church in all directions, and a steady growth of the independence of the parishes from diocesan supervision. The now obviously voluntary character of Church membership made the personal government of mediæval and Tudor times more and more impossible, and the demand for the older synodical government (silenced as the result of the Puritan disasters but never dead) became insistent. Quite naturally the first signs of this appeared in connection with Convocation. Sydney Smith's words quoted above, though the writer was hardly representative of the mind of the parochial clergy, express accurately the general feeling that the Bishops were betraying the liberties of the Church in the negotiations with Parliament concerning the workings of the Establishment. The passing of the Reform Bill in 1832 was followed by the beginning of a definite movement for the "freeing" of the Convocations, Kempthorne's pamphlet *The Church's Self-governing Privilege* (1835) being a significant (though officially unimportant) indication of the demand. Ten years later, Church Unions began to be formed "to maintain the independence and increase the efficiency of the Church." In 1847 the Canterbury Lower House awoke the provincial Synod from its long slumber by debating the loyal Address to the Queen and forced the Diocesans to accept an amendment to it by adding the words, "as we earnestly pray" to the clause reading "if at any time it should be her Majesty's pleasure to require the advice of this Synod." Not a very revolutionary suggestion, perhaps, but mice sometimes bring forth mountains as well as *vice versa*. Without agita-

tion, though a Society for the Revival of Convocation was founded and did useful work, the demand was pressed forward and received almost universal if somewhat tepid support. In 1851 it was the subject of debate in the House of Lords, and in 1852 Bp. Wilberforce of Oxford, moved in Convocation to petition the Crown for leave to discuss a Clergy Discipline Bill. The Royal Vicar-general (worthy successor of Machiavelli's pupil) ruled that this was illegal and the session was closed, but from the Erastian point the mischief was done. Counsel's opinion was obtained on the ruling. The three leading jurists consulted (one of whom was the Attorney-General) were unanimous that the Royal Supremacy only gave the Crown the right to refuse the initiation of changes in the canon law and that in all other matters the Convocations were as free as Parliaments. Although Archbishop Sumner, a courtier and an Erastian, and the Low Church party generally endeavoured to block the revival of the "Parliament of the Church," from this time on our inherent liberty of action has never been seriously questioned. Fortunately for the progress of religion in England, the Liberal party was under the influence of William Ewart Gladstone, a strong and devoted believer in the Church, and the direction from which political opposition might have come was, therefore, carefully guarded. Progress in constitutional revival has been slow but sure ever since, and, with the passing of the Enabling Act (1919), the Tudor system established by Henry VIII. may be said to have come definitely to an end.

The constitutional arrangements under that Act are strongly influenced by various "democratic" experiments in ecclesiastical government among the now very numerous Churches outside the provinces of Canterbury and York. In this respect and in many others, directly and indirectly, far-reaching results are developing in the rapid change of the Church of England of the fifteenth century into what may be de-

scribed as a Sixth Patriarchate of the Anglican Communion. But for the moment it will be as well to pass over the altered spirit and outlook which have thus been brought about. The practical significance of the change can only partly be estimated at present, and the most important constitutional feature of it, the Pan-Anglican or Lambeth Conferences, has not yet received institutional form. It is, however, to be noted that the ancient Catholic system, of "government by character" and not by representation, has been sometimes abandoned and generally modified outside England by the introduction of the system of election to the Synods or other representative bodies. The new constitutional arrangements of the Church of England have been made to conform to some extent to this modern conception of "democratic" institutions. On the whole, however, due care has been taken to preserve the traditional government by character, which is strongly marked in the central legislative authority though lamentably weak in the diocesan organisation—not through the fault of the Enabling Act and the Measures applying it, but through the lack of appreciation by the priesthood of the place secured to them by law. Exactly the same failure to understand the powers of Convocation, as we have seen, hindered its revivification in the middle of last century.

The Enabling Act assumed the existence of the two Convocations of York and Canterbury, each consisting of two Houses, an Upper House of Diocesans and a Lower House of representative priests, partly elected and partly *ex-officio*. To an Assembly composed of the members of the four Houses sitting together, Parliament surrendered the greater part of its claims to legislate for the Church of England, subject to a right on the part of either the Commons or the Lords to interpose a veto. Two conditions were attached to this abandonment of the untenable parliamentary pretensions: (1) That the Convocations should reform themselves, so as to give the representatives of the

parochial clergy a preponderance of members in the Lower Houses; (2) That representation should be given to the laity to enable them to take their share in all matters which were not reserved by Catholic order to the judgment of the clergy and their Diocesans. [The Upper House of a Convocation, it should be carefully noted, is a Council of Diocesans, and not the Apostolic College of the Province, which by virtue of their "character" both suffragans and "retired Bishops" would have an equal duty to attend.]

The ancient liberties which the Church had lost in the early days of the Royal Supremacy, were thus (at any rate partially) restored by parliamentary intervention. Given a desire on all sides to make this latest form of the "establishment" work, it should prove a lasting arrangement. But we should be wrong in thinking that the general outlook is without grave difficulties and even dangers on the constitutional plane. Many of our best canonists and of our most foreseeing administrators view with some apprehension the setting up of a "Church Parliament" at all, fearing that it will, as years go by, tend to depress the status of the real unit of ecclesiastical government, the Diocese, and simultaneously change radically the relation of the parochial "corporations" to the Diocesan organisation. Unity in Diversity has always been the tradition of the Church of England, and, Uniformity having ceased to be the practice even in public worship, it will not be easy for the Church Assembly to obtain an authoritative position in relation to Church Law, even if its *acta* are endorsed by the Convocations sitting separately. For no elected or official Assembly, not even the Convocations themselves, can conform to the fundamental principle of Government by Character, "each in his own order"—Apostolic, sacerdotal, diaconal, etc., communicant, baptised, catechumen. Decrees by representatives of orders are not *corporate* decrees, and bind those represented only in accordance with their personal adhesion. Even if they do not actively

oppose, their assent cannot be tacitly assumed, because they have no *duty* of protest inasmuch as no regular channel is provided for the recording of their judgment on the actual decree proposed. Elections to the House of Commons show us that representative assemblies by no means express the judgment of the electors on every question which has to be decided, and in several countries, where the English parliamentary system has been adopted, it has been found necessary to introduce the check of a *referendum*, a straight vote by the electors for or against legislative change.

But assuming that a "Church Parliament" is a practical necessity at any rate for the present, the constitution of the Church Assembly leaves little to be desired, due regard being paid to the difficulties of obtaining direct lay representation. A considerable majority of the clerical members are elected by the parochial and other licensed priests of the dioceses, the capitular bodies being at present the only ecclesiastical corporations recognised besides the parishes. It is not easy to see, however, any real reason for the Archdeacons being given seats, especially in view of the growing but essentially vicious practice of appointing Suffragan Bishops to archdeaconries.

As regards the procedure of the Church Assembly it is specifically laid down in Article 14 of the constitution that discussion must be by orders (separately) of any Measure "touching doctrinal formulæ or the services or ceremonies of the Church of England or the administration of the Sacraments or sacred rites thereof." Moreover, no such measure can be introduced except by a vote of one of the three Houses (Bishops, Clergy or Laity). The Bishops consider such a measure last; and, having before them the suggestions of the two lower Houses or Orders, prepare a final Measure for promulgation. This is first submitted to the Convocations separately to ensure proper and formal ecclesiastical sanction and then offered to the Assembly in full session to accept or reject without amendment

of any kind. If the Assembly agrees, the Measure, subject to the Royal or Parliamentary veto not being exercised, is then promulgated as law. The procedure seems cumbrous, but it is much less so in practice than in appearance. Compared to the procedure in the case of Acts of Parliament it is simple and expeditious. The House of Bishops are the sole judges of whether a Measure is of a "theological" character. Unless they declare it to be so, either of their own initiative or on the motion of any member of the Assembly, the Orders sit together and discussion takes place as in the House of Commons.

Under the Church Assembly are the Diocesan Conferences, the constitution of which are modelled on that of the Assembly itself, three "constituent authorities" being recognised, namely, the Diocesan, the "Chamber of Clergy," and the "Chamber of Laity." The "Chamber of Bishops" is reckoned as having only one Member, the Diocesan, suffragan bishops being regarded simply as clergy. The "Chamber of Clergy" may either be identical in composition with the Diocesan Synod (i.e., all the priests holding license under seal) with the addition of the deacons, or a representative body elected by the rural deaneries with a strong *ex-officio* element. The "Chamber of Laity" must equal the "Chamber of Clergy" in numbers, and are elected by the Ruri-decanal Conferences, which in turn are elected by the Parish Councils. [At present it is the function of the lay representatives of the Diocesan Conferences to elect the lay members of the Church Assembly.] For a Diocesan Conference to transact any business it is necessary that the three "constituent authorities" shall agree. An adverse vote of either clergy or laity, or the dissent of the Diocesan, thus imposes a veto. In no diocese (I think) has the "Chamber of Clergy" been identified with the Synod, the alternative of a representative chamber being generally preferred, probably because of the difficulty of housing the larger assembly which in-

clusion of all would entail. The work of a Diocesan Conference varies, of course, with the Diocese, and may conceivably be of a very extended nature. At present little is done except to attempt to raise the funds required for the central diocesan administration and to discuss resolutions dealing with various matters of internal and external policy.

From a constitutional point of view the Diocesan Conference is markedly inferior to the Church Assembly, perhaps because the latter was set up under the eyes of the House of Commons. The weakness of the former body is due to the persistence of the Whig "prince-bishop" conception of government. It is taken for granted that the clergy and laity cannot be trusted to support their Diocesan and must be kept in check in various ways to secure the Bishop's will prevailing in the event of difference. In the presence of the unrestrained County Councils and other civil public bodies, at present there is a certain air of unreality about a Diocesan Conference. If one may judge from the past, either the Diocesan must eventually regain the position of authority which he has been gradually losing since the Methodist Revival, or the present checks on the freedom of his Conference must be abandoned. Everything at present points to the latter development, especially the difficulty of budgetting for the diocesan expenditure.

Each Diocese is divided from old time into Rural Deaneries which have retained their presbyteries (called Chapters) in spite of the suspension of the Synods of the Dioceses. To-day they are assisted by R.D. Conferences, framed on the same conception as the Diocesan Conference in its full form, namely, *all* the clergy of the district who are licensed under seal, and representatives of the laity at least equal in number. Ruri-decanal Chapters and Conferences are, as a rule, even less effective than Diocesan Conferences, though for the opposite reason. As we have noticed above, when the eighteenth century Bishops (deprived of

State support) abandoned the attempt to enforce discipline after the Tudor model, the parochial corporations (secured as freeholds by the civil courts) successfully asserted their rights in law to take independent action. To-day the claim is widely made that the parish priest (or the parish laity, according to the point of view) administers a "free-state," subject in theory to higher ecclesiastical authority, but, in the absence of any coercive power possessed by that authority, limited only by its own judgment of what obedience should be rendered. For this reason the proceedings of Ruri-decanal Conferences are watched by the parochial authorities with some caution, not to say suspicion, and little common action results. As in the case of the Diocesan Conferences one feels that we are in the presence of a temporary compromise, the partisans of different theories of government manœuvring for position against a future permanent settlement rather than combining for the practical work of the moment.

Lastly, we come to what is, in some respects, the most important part of the Church constitution to-day, namely, the Parochial Corporation with its Vestry, its Parish Meeting, and its Parish Council. In theory, the parish is a chaplaincy within the district (in Greek, *diocese*) which is recognised as setting the geographical boundaries of the jurisdiction of a particular *ecclesia*. Age-long custom in England has established the right of the "chaplain" to retain his chaplaincy as long as he is of good behaviour, whether his "parishioners" or the central diocesan authorities like it or no. In the course of centuries endowments (sometimes large, more often small) have been accumulated which the civil courts protect as his property in trust as long as he holds his position. As a condition he is bound to perform certain limited acts of public worship and other ministrations, but is otherwise free, subject, of course, to the moral, religious, or civil law. The parish is bound to provide and maintain a properly fitted

building, etc., for public worship. For this purpose they elect, by agreement with their parish priest, Wardens (generally two in number) who can demand the money required from the Overseers of the district. The civil law no longer makes every inhabitant of the parish pay his quota to the upkeep of the Church, and the demand for the levying of a "Church rate" is to-day rarely (if ever) made. Instead, voluntary contributions are collected from the faithful. It would not be too much to say that the Parish Council is a more or less necessary outcome of this new situation—"taxation without representation" being as difficult in small matters as in large. Its powers and functions are still undefined because in theory the parochial corporation (Vicar and Wardens) can act without even consulting it, and for this reason there is considerable friction in some parishes and an atmosphere of suspicion in not a few others. Here, perhaps, more even than in higher quarters, one feels the urgent need of a remodelled judicial machinery to deal with local disputes and to establish precedents for general observance.

From this short survey of the constitutional history of the Church of England it is clear that the present state of affairs can only be regarded as transitional. Development in one direction or the other is inevitable for better or for worse. The conflict of claims, between authority from above and liberty from below, must be settled before the Church can function properly both for edification and for the progress of the Gospel within and around the "Sixth Patriarchate" of the Anglican Communion. For our guidance, two principles seem to stand out clearly in all the conflicts of the past as effective and efficient.

1. Government by Character, "each in his own order," has always tended to peace and good works.

2. Freedom of action on the part of the ecclesiastical units, produces better results in England than a

strong central authority with administrative as well as judicial power.

It is the purpose of the present treatise to show how these two principles may and should be applied to the Church of England to-day that she may fulfil her mission as the rallying centre of Christendom.

CHAPTER IV.

GOVERNMENT BY CHARACTER.

THE Great Charter of the Church is set forth in Holy Scripture, which is declared by the Church of England (not only in actual statement but in the whole spirit of its teaching and practice since the sixteenth century) to be the standard by which all things are to be measured. We may not require, as of faith, more than is therein contained. We may not diminish aught therefrom and claim to be true to the Deposit. Not only as honest men, but as believers in following the Truth of God even if it leads (apparently) to disaster, we must neither try to soften down "hard sayings" nor to expand the text so as to imply more than its plain meaning indisputably indicates. That is to say, we can claim *jus divinum*, unchangeable as God himself, for what is ordered in Holy Scripture. Everything else, though equally binding on the faithful as the condition of communion in the Church of Christ, is to be reckoned as *jus humanum*.

The Great Charter of the Church is given in the First Gospel in two forms.

A. Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church (*ecclesia*); and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.—*Mt. 16th*.

B. If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church (*ecclesia*); but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be

unto thee as a heathen man and a publican. Verily, I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Again I say unto you, That if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midst of them.—*Mt. 18*¹⁹.

The second of these passages is fairly obviously an expansion of the first, or rather, both refer to the same constitutional principle, namely, the power of "binding and loosing," which is conferred on the Church and its ministers. But there are some important differences between the two promises which are worth noting before we approach the question of the application to later conditions.

The Promise to Peter (A) is directly connected with the transition from the old dispensation to the new. It is the consequence (so to speak) of the prophetic gift, as in the case of the Baptist. "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." In the Promise to the *Ecclesia* the source of inspiration is given as in the Name of Jesus. The theological distinction is a very real one, as is shown by the continual repetition in *Revelation* of the phrase "the word of God and the testimony of Jesus." Again, the task before Peter is of what we should call a missionary character. It is in the future, ("I will build my Church") in contrast to the settled order of an established community such as is assumed in the Promise to the Church. Nowhere *in the text* is there any indication that the Promise to Peter is (1) a permanent charter, (2) exclusive to Peter, as against other followers of Jesus, "clerical or lay," (3) to be transmitted only to the Diocesans of sees founded by him, (4) confined to one single such Diocesan, whether selected by him or later by the Church. Any or all of these propositions may be true, but, if we accept the Canon of Scripture as the boundary of the *jus divinum*, their authority must be accepted as having

a different source, namely, in the "binding" character of Catholic interpretation of the Deposit of Faith until the same liberty in the Spirit "looses" the faithful from acceptance.

The Promise to the Church (B) lays down a definite constitutional practice for a settled community. For this reason some protestant critics, anxious to prove that the Church arose out of "the corrupt following of the Apostles," are bold enough to assert (without evidence) that the passage describes the practice of later times and is projected back into our Lord's teaching in order to give the procedure greater authority. The major question of how far an actual Society was organised by "the Prophet of Nazareth" during his life does not concern us here. It will be sufficient to note that the use of the word "Church" in the singular implies a small single community such as is described in Acts 2⁴⁷. Even before the spread of the Gospel to the Græco-Semitic world the plural has found its way into the record.

Then had the *churches* rest throughout all Judæa and Galilee and Samaria, and were edified; and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied.—*Ac.9*³¹.

Throughout St. Paul's Epistles, as well as in the record of his ministry in *Acts*, "the churches" is the regular form (e.g., *Ac.15*⁴¹, *Ro.16*^{4,16}, *1Co.11*¹⁶, *2Co.11*⁸), and the apocalyptic group of "the Seven Churches that are in Asia" is only a conventionalised presentment of what may be regarded as the regular arrangements made by the Apostles to meet the situation arising from the spread of the original single *Ecclesia* at Jerusalem. The Catholic conception of the Church has never changed since. Each community of Christians, lawfully constituted and administered is *a Church*, wherever it is, like the Seven Churches of Asia. The sum total of Christians are *the Church*, the original Apostolic organism at Jerusalem, so to speak, which can only be assembled at rare intervals with any ap-

proach to completeness. As early as the commencement of St. Paul's ministry the record tells us that "the Apostles and Elders" alone met as the *Ecclesia* to decide judicial questions of a universal character (Ac.15⁶). To the decree that was passed on that occasion with regard to the "loosing" of the Mosaic Law "the whole Church" gave its assent. Two constitutional points of some importance should be noticed in this connection.

1. There was no reason, except convenience, why this general Church-meeting should have been held at Jerusalem. Any similar "Council" anywhere might be accepted as a meeting of *the Ecclesia*, if its decrees were accepted by "the whole Church." This has been the regular Catholic practice, and no other test of Œcumenicity is known to history. "The" Church and "a" Church differ not in kind but in degree.

2. There is no hint of what happens if the Apostles and the Elders do not agree, nor of what happens if the general body of the faithful do not assent. Tradition is equally uncertain on the point. On the whole, we must infer, both from the record in Acts and from subsequent history, that the Apostles would (or could) not promulgate a decree without the assent of the presbytery, and that the faithful generally are not only safe in accepting but bound to obey, unless prophetic inspiration intervenes under the direct guidance of the Holy Spirit. This exception to the absolute power of "binding and loosing," while undoubtedly existing, does not come within the sphere of constitutional practice. It is a check on the misuse of the Charter by those administering it, rather than an element in the normal procedure.

Before leaving the consideration of the two Promises, A. to Peter and B. to the Church, we should note that ecclesiastical organisation recognises the distinction in its constitutional arrangements. For example, the Church of the Western Patriarch (Rome) still distinguishes sharply between missionary and settled

Churches. The former are ruled by Vicars Apostolic in direct dependence on the Holy See. The latter have a regular hierarchy with at least the form of synodical government, although since the disastrous pontificate of Pius IX. it is getting increasingly difficult to follow how much of the power of "binding and loosing" is to-day allowed to these Churches. The Eastern Patriarchates have a similar system, which differs from the Latin principally through changes in ecclesiastical order being under synodical control and not monarchical. Consequently, hierarchical re-adjustments are not arbitrary, but automatic—a right of the Churches concerned not to be "unreasonably refused." This practice is more in keeping with the traditional methods of the English, and may be taken as our established custom, since the granting of an independent hierarchy to the Church of the United States of America in 1787 after the recognition of the independence of the revolted colonies.

The Church unit, then, is a sacramental union of Christians arranged for the purpose of "edification," that is to say, for common action. It may be large or small according to circumstances—containing many congregations or limited to a single "house-church." The recognition of *a* Church as such depends on the good will of the rest of *the* Church, permission to organise such a unit being a right, subject, of course, to the welfare of the whole Body. But the very definite nature of our Lord's Promise (B) lays down both the powers and limitations of the jurisdiction committed to any properly constituted Church. It will be noted that these are primarily judicial and only mandatory in so far as judicial decisions affect the liberty of action of individuals. In other words, the Charter embodies the great principle underlying all English law, that where there is no prohibition there is no restraint of individual freedom. This is Government by Character in the widest sense. Subject to regulations explicitly laid down by higher authority, every Christian is to

govern himself and his household in accordance with the guidance he receives from the Holy Spirit of God. He is to live "as to the Lord and not to men" (Eph. 6⁷), God's minister in all things, and particularly in his dealings with his fellow-men. That the father of a family, for example, has actual ecclesiastical jurisdiction in that capacity, is still a recognised principle of canon law, for he can refuse to allow his children to marry until they are freed by "coming of age."

That the Apostles had a distinct Character given to them by our Lord himself the Gospel narrative leaves no doubt, and we find this "ministry and apostleship" accepted as a fundamental and permanent principle of the government of the Church at its first meeting after the Ascension (Ac.1²⁵). Both in Scripture and in the traditions of the Church what we call the power to "ordain" to any office and ministry is strictly confined to those who have received the Apostolic character. There is some doubt whether their judicial authority is equally absolute, but that only Apostles, in succession from the Lord himself, have the power to confer the Holy Ghost must be accepted as *jus divinum*. The Apostolate, however, is not personal but corporate (*in solidum*). It must be exercised responsibly and not arbitrarily, neither used for the call of the unworthy nor refused unreasonably to fit persons asking for its exercise.

Between the Apostolate and the "disciples" there was, apparently, no intermediate ministry. If one may say so with reverence, it was not necessary as long as the disciples were living a community life in and around the House where the Twelve resided and in the Upper Room or the courtyard of which, doubtless, all assembled for the Breaking of the Bread. As the number of disciples multiplied, the number of meeting places must have been increased, and in consequence, a certain lack of touch between the Twelve and the disciples arose. To meet this the subordinate ministry of the "Seven" was proposed by the Apostles, ac-

cepted by the Church and duly set up. The procedure should be carefully noted, as also the manner of selection, which, put into modern language, is as follows: (1) the Apostles issue writs for the election, (2) the general body of disciples elect seven candidates, (3) the Apostles approve and ordain. That the Apostles had power to refuse any or all of the candidates seems indubitable.

What the functions of the Seven were is uncertain. Their office and ministry was clearly more important than the functions of their derivative, the Diaconate, and the only parallel in Scripture is the group of the seven "ministering spirits," the Angels of the Churches "that are in Asia." Their appointment marks the change in the terminology of *Acts* from the Church (singular, Ac.8¹) to the Churches (plural, Ac. 9³¹), the intervening narrative dealing with the activities of two of the Seven, Stephen and Philip. It almost appears possible that the origin of the *episkopos* or Diocesan is to be found in the office of Deacon as first set up by the Apostles for the administration of sections of the one Church at Jerusalem. Those who are curious in such matters will note that there seems to be a trace of this responsibility still in the fact that it is the (Arch) deacon's function to present candidates for Holy Orders as the representative of the local Church. Even more remarkable is the coincidence that while a Western Bishop wears the Deacon's robe (the dalmatic) *under* his priestly vesture (the chasuble), an Eastern Bishop wears its equivalent (the sakkos) and there is no corresponding garment at all for the Deacon. But in connection with our present purpose the subject is not of first rate importance, and is only mentioned to emphasise the undoubted constitutional principle (which we shall come to shortly) that an *episkopos* or Diocesan need not have the Apostolic character to exercise full local jurisdiction in his Church. His is an Office and not an Order.

The Order of Elder (presbyter or priest) is first

mentioned in connection with a financial matter, the transmission of money from Antioch to Jerusalem to relieve the famine foretold by the prophet Agabus (Ac.11³⁰). But there can be little doubt that, the Church having been founded as a society of Jews by birth, there had been a distinction from the start between the "Elder" and the "Younger" brethren—a distinction, moreover, which, though founded on the analogy of age, depended on spiritual gifts and experience quite as much as on years. Thus every old man was not necessarily a *presbyteros*, and every young man was not necessarily a *neoterios* (Ac.5⁶). That the Elders received a special Character by the laying on of hands by the Apostles is recorded in Acts 14²³. As the organisation of the Church developed, it seemed expedient to appoint only Elders to official positions in the local Churches (Ti.1⁵), the presiding Elder being known as the *episkopos*, a shortened form of which is our word Bishop. By the time the unbroken record of Church history begins (about a century later), St. Paul's practice had become the normal procedure universally, though it is as well to remember that, as far as "office" is concerned, it is *jus humanum* rather than *jus divinum*. Except for convenience, for example, there is no reason why the Rector of an English parish should be a priest. Without that character, of course, he could not minister the Sacraments. But he could discharge nearly every other function attaching to the office; he could even preach if properly licensed for the purpose. Needless to say, I am not proposing that the clergy should be replaced by laity in their incumbencies! Even if there were a balance of advantage in such a change (which is very doubtful), it would mean such a revolution of Christian society, and such a breach with tradition, that its consideration even is not practical politics. On the other hand, we shall do well to try and visualise the constitutional possibility in order to distinguish sharply between Office and Character, between "jurisdiction" and "order." The

official is responsible to the Church in which his jurisdiction is acknowledged. The priest is responsible to the ministry as a body corporate (*in solidum*) of which he is the representative wherever he may be.

The importance of this principle is very evident when we come to the episcopal office. In Scripture it is generally admitted that the "bishop" is normally a presbyter and not an apostle, that is to say, the word is the title of an office and not a mark of Character. The well-known passage in the writings of Clement of Rome is even more definite on the subject:—

[The Apostles] appointed their first-fruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons unto them that should believe.—*Ad Cor.*xlii.

Ignatius of Antioch, also about A.D. 100, distinguishes between the obedience due to the bishop and to the rest of the presbytery:—

Do ye all follow your bishop, as Jesus Christ followed the Father, and the presbytery as the Apostles; and to the deacons pay respect, as to God's commandment. Let no man do aught of things pertaining to the Church apart from the bishopwhersoever the bishop shall appear, there let the people be; even as where Jesus Christ may be, there is the universal Church whatsoever he shall approve, this is well-pleasing also to God; that everything which ye do may be sure and valid.

—*Ad Smyrn.* viii.

From these two passages the constitution of the sub-apostolic age is perfectly clear. The local churches are regarded as projections of the One Church of Jesus Christ, and their meetings are like the gathering in the Upper Room when the Master broke the Bread and gave it with his own hands. The presbytery of a local Church is similarly a projection of the Apostolate with the same authority within the limited jurisdiction assigned to them and subject of course to the higher authority of the Apostolate of the whole Church in such matters as the latter may issue decisions of a Catholic or universal nature. One of the presbytery is the *ecclesiarch* or bishop, with "power from on high," and without him or his expressed consent the

local Church cannot function. Ignatius' somewhat daring comparison between this official and our Lord himself among the Apostles cannot be pressed to establish a difference in kind. The episcopal approval is given solely as a test "that everything may be sure and valid"—the condition for that gathering together of two or three when, in accordance with promise, "there am I in the midst of you."

Before passing on it will be as well to note the bearings of Ignatius' constitutional principle on other systems of Church Government, namely, Independency and Presbyterianism. Both deny Clement's statement of the continuance of the Apostolate (*ad Cor.* xliv.), and both deny that the office of *ecclesiarch* or bishop has any place in the *jus divinum*. As the testimony of Scripture is uncertain on the point without evidence from other sources, we have perhaps no right to insist on its inclusion in the Deposit. But we can surely claim that the tradition is so ancient and so universal, without a single known exception of any kind for the first 1,500 years of Christianity, that (even if only *jus humanum*), it is of such *binding* force under the Charter of Matthew 18, that it can only be *loosed* by a similarly universal consent. For this reason, as far as the Church of England is concerned, we can rule out either the claim that any "congregation" of two or three constitutes "a" Church (Independency), or that a presbytery without a "bishop" approved by the Apostolate can exercise jurisdiction (Presbyterianism). This is not to assert that a Bishop can act without his presbytery, but that a presbytery cannot act without its bishop. In the name of the Apostolate which approved his selection, he can refuse to allow the local Church to function sacramentally. They can, of course, appeal to the Apostolate if they think that the bishop is not rightly voicing their judgment, but, subject to such appeal, his veto is absolute.

Clement of Rome and Ignatius of Antioch were "bishops" of the Churches in the cities where they

resided and had the Apostolic Character. But this was by no means the universal custom. Even in the fourth century there were many Churches which were presided over by what were called *chor-episkopoi*, that is to say, bishops who were presbyters. In the Eastern Orthodox and in the Western Churches the practice gradually died out, though, as has been said elsewhere, it still lingers among the Armenians.

From the time when the Apostolic College at Jerusalem was broken up (if not before), the arrangements we find in *Acts* and in the Pauline Epistles must have been modified in those cities where the survivors of the Twelve settled and where the new recipients of the Apostolic Character, such as Paul, Silas, Timothy, had their usual place of residence. More particularly the Gentile Churches ceased to be "missionary dioceses" (subject to the personal authority of the Apostle, as in the Promise to Peter), and became settled organisations with the liberties secured by the Promise to the Church. Two things naturally followed: (1) The home Church of an Apostle acquired a pre-eminence in the district, (2) the episkopos of the "Apostolic" Church, if not the Apostle himself, was his obvious coadjutor if he required assistance in his ministerial capacity, and his successor at his death. Hence the beginning of that patriarchal and provincial grouping of Churches which became a definite constitutional principle under the Empire of Constantine. Gradually it became the custom to give the Apostolic Character to the "bishops" of most Churches of any importance, not only because to do so advanced the status of their communities, but also because, without the power of ordination, a "bishop" could not nominate the members of his own Synod. By this means the "bishop" was given what we should call a right of "patronage" which was of the greatest importance in days when an Orthodox Confession of Faith was more important than a University degree. Very few to-day would be ready to revert to the older practice and to leave our great

modern dioceses without direct apostolic oversight of the sacramental ministration. In the Church of England, certainly there would have to be a revolution before admission to the Character of priest in a diocese could be removed from the ordinary diocesan jurisdiction.

Yet it is equally certain that we do not differentiate sufficiently between the two sides of the Episcopal Office—Order and Jurisdiction. Order is from above, the call to a particular ministry, for which purpose Character is conferred by the laying on of hands. Jurisdiction is from below, the regulating by the Household of Faith of the office and ministry of all its members for mutual edification in the work of the Gospel. Since Byzantine times, and probably much earlier, it has been the universal or Catholic practice that the unit of jurisdiction is normally a territorial district (diocese), that all Christians in that district are members of its Church, and that the jurisdiction is exercised by the Synod of the presbytery ministering therein. Here is the importance of Ignatius' parallel between the Apostolate (on the world-scale) and the presbytery of a diocese. Within their local jurisdiction, and subject to provincial or oecumenical intervention, the promise in Matt. 18 gives absolute power of binding and loosing to the Synods of the Churches.

Instead of attempting to trace here the history of the constitutional practice relating to the exercise of this jurisdiction, it will be convenient to go to an authority of undoubted catholicity—namely, Pope Benedict XIV's great work, *Tractatus de Synodo dioecesana*,¹ In this delightful and leisurely treatise, crammed with the learning for which the eighteenth century is famous and bristling with references to authorities, we have the Coke upon Lyttelton (so to speak) of Latin canon

¹ A convenient translation of the relevant chapters of this has been published under the title of *The Diocesan Synod*, by Mr. W. R. V. Brade, a member of the Canterbury House of Laymen. (Faith Press, 1926; price 3/6.)

law on the subject. Protestants will feel the less hesitation in appealing to it, as it contains avowedly the conclusions of the scholar, Prosper Lambertini, rather than the rescripts of the Holy Father, who (as he says, with the charming humour he displays throughout) may be infallible but is unconscious of such a gift. Catholics may feel equal confidence, for the *Tractatus* is a notable example of that wonderful fidelity to form which is characteristic of the patriarchal Church of the West. The procedure laid down is throughout manifestly a development of that outlined simply in Matt. 18.

Benedict stresses the distinction between Order and Jurisdiction even to the point of approving the holding of the Diocesan Synods by bishops before they receive the Apostolic character by consecration. He deprecates any failure to observe the decree of Trent for the assembly of the Synods at least once a year, on the ground that in them lies the normal judicial process of the Church. Naturally he allows more latitude to the Bishop in the matter of the alternative discipline of Visitation than existed in pre-feudal times. Naturally, also, he indicates, with the subtle irony already noticed, methods by which Synods can be "worked" so that, though the hands be the hands of freedom, the voice may still be Jacob's. But for these details (weaknesses to the English mind) the peculiar view of law held in Western Europe is responsible. Other than purely judicial considerations arise when it is the duty of authority, somehow or other, to fill in the gaps in the code, to restrain liberty on other grounds than definite legal prohibition. With this reservation we might do much worse than to take Benedict's treatise as an exposition of correct constitutional practice for the English, as well as for Latin, Churches.

Between Jan. 1 and Jan. 5 in each year notice is to be published throughout the Diocese of the date or dates on which the Synod is to assemble—the normal times to be in the week following "Good Shepherd

Sunday" (Easter II), and during the Octave of St. Luke. On the fifth day of each month between the proclamation of the dates and the assembly of the Synod, a Mass of the Holy Ghost is to be said in every parish Church for the guidance of the presbytery in council. When the appointed time comes, the Bishop is to celebrate the same Mass, and all the clergy are to receive the Holy Communion at his hands. Before or after this Mass a solemn procession is to be made through the Cathedral City. On the second day the Mass is a Requiem said by one of the capitular canons, and on the third day the Mass of the Holy Trinity. Quite apart, therefore, from the deliberations of the Synod, the whole occasion has an impressive devotional character and is full of spiritual significance—a means of grace not to be neglected at any time and least of all where indiscipline and uncertainty are abroad.

For its work the Synod has important permanent officials, besides those common to assemblies in general, such as a Secretary (one of the capitular body), a Notary (the Diocesan Chancellor), Prefects to attend to discipline and act as tellers, Master of the Ceremonies, Door-keepers, Treasurer, etc. The officials peculiar to the Synod form three Committees :—

(1.) *The Synodical Witnesses*, whose duty is to report to the Synod any breaches of the law, either on information received or of their own motion. That is to say, they are a counterpart of the Public Prosecutor or the King's Proctor in the civil courts. [It should be noted that this very ancient practice is entirely in abeyance in the Roman Catholic Synods, cases being invariably dealt with by the Bishop under his feudal "visitatorial" powers.]

(2.) *The Synodical Examiners*, whose duty is to "examine" nominees for any ecclesiastical appointment, and to report to the Bishop as to his fitness for that post. Before confirming the appointment the

Bishop is bound to consider their report, but not necessarily to act upon it.

(3.) *The Diocesan Judges*, four in number, who assist the Bishop in the hearing of causes by the Synod, when he presides in person, and conduct such hearings in his absence.

There is also a *Prolocutor*, or Proctor of the Synod, who communicates officially to the Bishop the decisions of the Synod for approval or veto at the Bishop's absolute discretion.

All these officials, as Benedict allows, were originally elected by the presbytery and not (as is the modern custom) appointed by the Bishop.

So isolated has the Church of England compulsorily been since the rupture with the patriarchal Church of the West, that it comes almost as a shock to many Anglicans to be reminded that the Latin Churches, in spite of the papal claims, have actually a more liberal constitution than the Settlement established by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth for their own communion. Nor is this simply a matter of theory. However hedged in by restrictions on its liberty, the Synod cannot fail to be a real source of strength and unity, and that not only because of its atmosphere of devotion. The Bishop must act in accordance with forms of law, every "synodical decree," even if forced upon a reluctant presbytery, being formally recorded under the eyes of the superior authority of the provincial Apostolic College. The surrender of private judgment on the part of individual presbyters is also on a different footing. They submit not to the arbitrary bidding of an individual, but to a constitutional system, imperfect perhaps, but still corporate in character. It is not personal government, but government by character, that they obey. In the Synodical decrees it is the Church that speaks—the Church that is, if not the Church that should be.

On the absence of any proper synodical order in the Church of England, more than in anything else,

rests the doubt which exists in the minds of other Churches (both Eastern and Western) of the true Catholic status of the Church of England. Protestantism, as they understand it, is a system of religion in which each admits only his private judgment. Common action depends on the aggregation of separate individuals rather than on the corporate guidance of the Body of Christ. Intellectual agreement is thus exalted above the unity of the Spirit, and the result is a City of Confusion without discipline and without law. The accusation is, I believe, unfounded except in the case of a small minority of Nonconformists. But it is more or less believed abroad with regard to the whole of English Christianity, and for that reason (if for no other) it is a matter of first-rate importance that we should, as far as we can, restore the Apostolic constitution of government by character.

The alternative is government by delegation, one or more individuals being accepted as "representative" of the general opinion. Delegation, as history shows, may be based on many things other than popular election—on "pillow-luck," on wealth, on co-option, etc. But, under the pressure of the English institutional model, there is only one method which need be considered in the Church of England to-day, namely, election by a majority of the qualified voters. Between a governing body so constituted and the Synod of Catholic tradition there is a great gulf fixed. A representative body is based on *exclusion* of all but a few "specially fit" persons—a Synod is based on the *inclusion* of all having the requisite character. From the former assembly all minorities are excluded, and they can only influence it by public agitation. Should the subject at issue not appear sufficiently "important" (assuming that the smallest detail of truth can be so regarded) to such effort, the minority shrugs its shoulders and remains quiet. [What is the use of protest when it will certainly disturb the peace and probably only result in disaster to the protester?] But

in a Synod it is the duty, a consequence of the divinely-given Character, of every member to record his individual guidance on every question at least by his vote. If he is in a minority, his Character requires him¹ not simply to submit to, but to support cordially the synodical decrees. Like Ezekiel's watchman (Ezk.33²) he has cried the approach of an enemy and is free from blood. But if he is not given the opportunity of thus delivering his soul, he is continually in a strait place—continually faced with the choice between cowardly silence and open resistance.

Still more marked is the difference between a "representative" episcopate and the Apostolic order. In the former case consecration would be more or less a necessary consequence of election by the presbytery or the laity or whatever the electing authority may be. For the Apostolate to refuse to confer the Apostolic character, except in the case of a "notorious evil-liver" (intellectual or moral)), would be an unconstitutional act. Accordingly, as in the Church of England to-day (and, indeed, in most Churches, reformed or unreformed), the provincial Synod is nothing but a council of Diocesans—their unity being in the main a unity of governmental expediency rather than a unity of Character. Attractive as the proposal may appear to those who have grown up under democratic institutions, the election of bishops by their dioceses (or even the granting of a share in such election to the presbytery) is in accordance neither with Christian tradition nor with the interests of freedom. Obviously, a Diocesan who is "the popular choice" will take a different view of his administrative powers from that of one whose primary function is to check and regulate the proceedings of his presbytery in accordance with the expressed will of the Apostolate whose local representative he is. One can see little distinction between nomination by the Crown and election by the

¹ In 450 out of 451 cases. The numerical proportion is calculated from Elijah's "synod" on Carmel (1K.18).

"Church," if in either event consecration is to be regarded as a claim not to be refused by the Apostolate without disturbance. The real check on unsuitable nominations to the episcopate does not lie in the adjustment of nomination-rights but in restoring to the presbytery the freedom they undoubtedly possess in granting jurisdiction over the diocese, namely, the power to refuse a candidate for the *cathedra* of their Church before he is enthroned.

"Each in his own order" is the only principle on which, if we are true to the letter and the spirit of the New Testament, the Christian Church (universal or local) can be organised. No fixed and infallible code can be laid down for the interpretation of that principle in the constantly shifting arrangements of human society. The Charter of "binding and loosing" was expressly given to present such a conception of Christian Law in direct contrast to the "eternal" Law of Moses. It is, therefore, as much an offence against the spirit of the Church to retain an obsolete law as it is for individuals to refuse obedience, and he will be a bold man who will venture to declare that, in the controversies of the past, the *jus divinum* was invariably rightly interpreted by either party. If obedience must be rendered to what is "bound," proper authority must not unreasonably or unspiritually refuse to "loose" regulations which have outlived their use. As the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews puts it, "that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away" (*He.8¹³*).

The most formidable obstacle always to elasticity in the institutions both of Church and State is confusion of the three distinct but allied authorities of administration, legislation and judicature. The two last are, indeed, different aspects of the same function, inasmuch as legislative action is determined by defects made evident in the interpretation of the law. But administration is bound to be (passively or actively) unsympathetic with judicial limitations on its power to control

the "machine" of which it has charge. The temptation to ignore what hinders its action is almost irresistible even with the best of rulers. To do minor evil that the major good may result appears often as a positive duty, and has the additional attraction of yielding quick results. The patience of the Saints, however, is a sister virtue to their faith, and, if there be one thing clear from the unhappy divisions of Christianity, it is that any departure from strict (or even pedantic) adherence to the maxim *fiat justitia, ruat coelum* brings a retribution far outweighing the immediate benefit of subordinating justice to expediency.

For this reason, if for no other—though fidelity to the practice of the Apostolic Church should be sufficient—it is urgent that we restore Government by Character in the Church of England. Of Œcumenical Councils, and even of such semi-œcumenical assemblies as the Pan-Anglican Conferences, nothing need be said in the present unsettled state of "the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth." We must begin, therefore, with the Province, the Apostolic College of which is a projection of the whole Apostolic Order throughout the world. Care should be taken to distinguish between this local "company of the Apostles" and the Upper House of Convocation, which is a representative body of Diocesans. The Sacred Synod, which has the power of binding and loosing, includes all who have the Apostolic Character within the province, whether or no they be diocesans. That body alone can mediate the *jus divinum* to the province, subject, of course, to a wider and fuller gathering of their Order. Their function is judicial not executive, the giving of decisions as to Law of Christ, the approval of candidates for admission to the Apostolic Order, the appointing or confirming the *episkopoi* of the Dioceses as delegates from them each in his own area, and the general arrangements for those ministrations which only one with the Apostolic character can perform. The Council of Diocesans (Convocation) can claim to be authori-

tative only in matters of Jurisdiction, that is to say, for the provincial organisation of the working Church. For judicial purposes the larger assembly of all the Apostolic College of the province should take their place, if we are to have Government by Character.

Under the Apostolic College of the province in matters of Order and the Council of Diocesans in matters of Jurisdiction, comes the presbytery or Diocesan Synod, presided over by the Apostolic "Inspector" (*episkopos*). As we have seen, there is no necessity for this official to be an Apostle. Consecration to that Character neither adds to nor takes away from his position as the delegate of the superior authority in matters of Jurisdiction. He can refuse to allow the promulgation of any decree of the presbytery, or rather to reserve it (if pressed) for the judgment of the Apostolic College. Naturally, one who is a member of that College may be assumed to be better able to interpret its corporate mind than one who is not. But if he is a Diocesan also, that fact would diminish rather than add to the authoritative nature of his judgments, because he would be more likely to temper justice with expediency than one who had none of the cares of jurisdiction. Where the Apostolic Character, now generally conferred on Diocesans, is of importance lies in his exclusive right to admit or to refuse candidates to the presbytery of his diocese. He cannot expel without judicial process and for that reason it is practically impossible for any Diocesan during his term of office to "capture" his Synod. This he can only do by outliving the majority of those who were priests of the Diocese before his appointment. But a succession of Diocesans, all following the same policy, can change the presbytery completely, and by this slow but sure means it is secured that in the long run the same spirit must animate both the Apostolic and the Sacerdotal Orders.

Under the Diocesan Synod there are the local presbyteries or Ruri-decanal Conferences as "courts of

first instance"—it should be noted that Government by Character is not executive but judicial—but for a distinction in Order we must pass to what is now called the "laity," but is more easily understood under its old jurisdictional appellation of the "civil power." It is admitted on all hands that, except where this touches the *jus divinum*, the "civil power" is entirely independent of the presbyteral and Apostolic Synods. Now-a-days in a number of activities the men and women of the Church are intimately associated with other Christians and with unbelievers. For this reason there is a tendency to forget that "whatsoever ye do" is, to the Christian, a ministerial act—as much a part of the Church's work in the *catholic* sense as singing in a choir or serving as Churchwarden. Every married man has ecclesiastical jurisdiction over his household, and in her sphere, every married woman. Every owner of an estate or master of a business is similarly responsible to his brethren for his administration, and this responsibility is none the less real because it is part of what may be called the "common law" of the baptised and not (as in the case of marriage) the discharge of a special sacramental covenant. The regulation of all these so-called secular affairs is committed under the constitution of Government by Character to the general body of the faithful, and, if the "state of society" is not satisfactory, they must shoulder the responsibility rather than the clergy. It is the practice in high places to-day to flatter (even fulsomely) the laity, but other considerations than mere clerical conceit might be adduced in support of the opinion that, if the same sense of stewardship in "secular affairs" were displayed by the general body as the clergy show in matters spiritual, there would be less unrest in England and abroad.

The foregoing sketch of the constitutional theory implied in the phrase, Government by Character, is necessarily superficial. But sufficient has been said to show the difference between the ecclesiastical system

set out in Matt.18, and the alternative of representative government towards which the Church of England is unconsciously drifting. The power of the Church on earth to bind and to loose is absolute, always subject to the impossibility of tampering with the *jus divinum*, the Pattern in the Mount, and the actual effect of substituting Representation for Character cannot be clearly estimated at present. It would, therefore, be mere abuse to describe the present tendency as a product of unbelief. But a student of constitutional history may well call attention to the weakening of the democratic ideal in political theory generally. For that reason, if for no other, the Church should exercise the extreme of caution in abandoning her Scriptural and traditional type of institution. Indeed, there are signs of a reaction towards "government by character" in State affairs—the growth of the Communistic and Socialistic conceptions of government, the increase of the official class, (selected by examination or nomination and permanent during good behaviour), the "class warfare," and so on. All these postulate ministerial "character" as the test for administration—"each in his own order." Quite apart, therefore, from the readjustment of the constitution of the Church in the narrow sense of the regulation of worship and teaching, we have a duty (perhaps) to show the world for a second time a new and more excellent way of ordering human society.

CHAPTER V.

THE READJUSTMENT OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL MACHINE.

It is easy to sketch the broad principles to which any Church must conform in order to be entitled to the title of Catholic. It is quite another matter to enter into the details of the application of those principles. Even in a simple matter like the Confession of Faith, the exact degree of intellectual acceptance required cannot be defined more than approximately. We can demand a formal profession from all candidates for the sacraments, but apart from that, all we can do is to censure those who make statements which are contrary to the words or intention of the Symbol. When we come to the working organisation of the Church, the difficulty is intensified by the fact that lip-service to principle is quite easily mated with practice which is directly contrary in effect. No code can be devised which can do more than check such endeavours, for codes are almost entirely concerned with checking abuses. They are negative rather than positive—the prohibition of what is wrong rather than the encouragement of what is right. The latter is the work of the administrator rather than of the judge, and in Christian institutions to-day must depend on goodwill, not on necessity.

The application of the principle of Government by Character to the Church of England to-day is complicated by another difficulty, namely, that the Church has to readjust her judicial and administrative machinery under the eye of an always jealous and often hostile State. Goodwill among her members is, therefore, doubly important, but alas! internal divisions render it exceedingly difficult to attain. In putting forward some suggestions as to what can be done with

the minimum of disturbance, both of tradition and of the existing balance, I can only hope to indicate the lines on which Church reform should be attempted. And for that purpose the easiest and clearest way will be to take the system of Benedict XIV., and show how it would work under the free conditions of English society—with the Apostolic Order in the place of the Roman Pontiff and his court, and without any attempt on the part of “authority” to coerce the will of the faithful clergy and laity. As before, the question of Apostolic Colleges larger than those of the established provinces must be put aside for the present. The Pan-Anglican Congress is not an Œcumenical Council and any attempt to define its position as something between that and a provincial Synod will only complicate the question of authority.

We assume the Synod of the Province of Canterbury (for example) meeting in formal session annually for the “transaction of business”—the Greater Synod of all in the province who have the Apostolic character, and the Lesser Synod consisting only of Diocesans, Bishops without sees being excluded. All questions relating to Order are brought before the larger body—all questions relating to Jurisdiction before the smaller. Consequently, the Greater Synod resembles a Court of Law, and the Lesser Synod (Convocation) a Cabinet Council. For the clearer distinction between the two, they should meet in different places, in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury (where the Primate has his throne) and in the Church House at Westminster respectively.

The Greater Synod first considers the Royal Command to consecrate with the Apostolic Character those who, in accordance with the jurisdiction allowed to the Civil Magistrate, have been appointed Bishops of vacant sees. In each case a report would be received from the Dean of Convocation with regard to the reception of the Bishop-designate by the presbytery of his Diocese. [This will be explained later.] If no

objection is forthcoming from that source, the Archbishop asks whether anyone is prepared to challenge the fitness of the candidate. In the event of any formal plea being entered, the case would be heard in proper form and judgment would be given by vote of the Synod. But, assuming that no case was stated or proved, consecration would be authorised by general consent. No state sanction would be required for this procedure, for there is no law restraining the Archbishop from consulting his fellow Apostles before obeying the Royal Command. Should the Synod, after proper trial, find a candidate guilty of heresy or other ecclesiastical misdemeanour, the Archbishop could hardly to-day be arrested or otherwise coerced for refusing to consecrate, and the Crown would certainly be advised to make another nomination. But, where no objection was made (and this would fairly certainly be almost always the case) no one could "speak evil of dignities" as they do now of State-appointed Bishops. It would not be necessary to talk of altering the law, or of disestablishing the Church, to make sure of a faithful episcopate.

The question of new candidates for the Apostolate having been settled, the Synod next deals with appeals from the Diocesan Synods. These will all have been first considered by a Standing Committee, who will divide them into two classes, appeals which (in the opinion of the Committee) are "vexatious," and appeals which should be heard in open Synod. Appeals of both classes are voted on, but no argument can be admitted in the case of those which the Committee reports as "vexatious," except on the motion of a member of the Synod. The others are tried by the ordinary process and decided by the majority for or against.

In most years the work of the Greater Synod would be finished after the hearing of appeals. But from time to time other questions are bound to arise on the motion of individual members—questions dealing with matters of Faith. To take examples from the prob-

lems of to-day, May Christians try by "spiritualistic" means to communicate with the dead? May the faithful of the province of Canterbury attend the Divine Service of schismatic bodies (a) within the province, (b) elsewhere? What is the minimum of observance of the Lord's Day allowable under modern conditions? Shall any particular religious order be given liberties in the province and what shall be its relation to Diocesans?

The Council of Diocesans (Convocation) requires little or no alteration. Its function is twofold, to attend to the central administrative work of the Province and to promulgate canons for the whole province with regard to those matters where uniformity of practice is desirable. It has, of course, no authority on questions of Faith, except for the purpose of carrying out the decrees of the Greater Synod. Every canon, or other order, to be generally operative requires the assent of each Diocesan Synod throughout the province. If that consent is not attainable, the dissentient presbyteries may be reported to the Greater Synod of the province, which must deal with the refusal and would naturally have power even to take the extreme step of decreeing excommunication. It is here, and here only, that we must take cognisance of the larger Pan-Anglican Synod, to which a Diocese should be given the right of appeal under such circumstances. In the present divided state of Christendom we can find no better final authority, and, though not truly Œcumenical, we must accept it as such until a more complete assembly of the universal Apostolate is again possible.

Convocation is as free as Parliament with one exception, namely, that no canon which affects statute law can be proposed without the royal consent previously obtained. But there is nothing to prevent the introduction and enactment of what may be called "voluntary canons," that is to say, orders which have no force in the civil courts. Between "formal" and "voluntary" canons, however, there is very little

difference to-day, for it is unthinkable that, in matters spiritual, recourse will ever be had again to the police for the enforcement of the Law of Church. Any attempt to do this would at once mean disestablishment by common consent, for it is very clear that the State has not the slightest wish to be called in to settle internal religious differences. Nor is it necessary any longer to pass canons under Royal Supremacy conditions. These have been set aside by the Church Assembly Act, and an alternative procedure is not only possible but expedient. Where it is desired to amend Church Laws which are also Statute Law, Convocation can proceed by resolution in both Houses and pray the House of Bishops to lay a Measure before the Assembly. Formal assent to such a measure, after it has been passed and not blocked by Parliament, is sufficient to give it force in canon law.

If Convocation still remains academic and unproductive, the cause is timidity and not lack of power. Even in financial matters it still retains authority to tax the revenues of the Church, for all that was abandoned in 1662 was the exemption from taxes levied with parliamentary sanction. Probably if Convocation voted a tax, there would be some difficulty in collecting it, since all coercive machinery of the Church Courts is in abeyance and the King's Courts would decline to interfere. For this reason here is the first, and almost the only, direction in which legislative action is necessary to enable the Church of England to function properly. Convocation should resolve that its power to deal with the property of the various corporations (mainly parochial) not administered by the Ecclesiastical Commission, should be recognised at common law, subject of course to the veto of the Crown. Effect could be given to this resolution by a Measure of the Church Assembly, and it is unlikely that, in the present anomalous distribution of endowments, there would be serious opposition. Further, Convocation should be empowered to inspect and regulate various central

trusts (like the Queen Victoria Clergy Fund) which are purely clerical in character, and to hold property on her own account. The Lower Houses of the two Convocations should also be represented on the Ecclesiastical Commission, but this is a more difficult and perhaps contentious proposal.

As regards the procedure of Convocation, inconvenient as the practice is of sitting concurrently with the parliament, the tradition should be maintained. But the transaction of business should be arranged for times convenient to the clergy. The sessions of Parliament are generally opened at the beginning of February, when it is not easy for parish priests to get away. Convocation should, therefore, meet at that time only to vote the customary loyal address, and should then adjourn until after Whit-Sunday. With the recollection of discussions of their Diocesan Synods fresh in their minds the Bishops and Proctors would assemble then ready to deal with the subjects brought forward, and after passing "first readings" of any resolutions the two Houses would adjourn till the autumn. In the meanwhile, reports of the debates would be printed and circulated. On re-assembling, the first business would be re-affirmation of the resolutions passed in the summer, without discussion except where notice of a formal motion to rescind had been given before the compilation of the agenda paper. The prorogation of Parliament in the interval would not affect this procedure. While the Crown can dissolve Convocation at any time, the length of its sessions is at the discretion of its President, and there is powerful legal opinion that even he cannot adjourn the session without the consent of the Upper House.

As regards the reform of Convocation, the present writer is of the opinion that it will never function properly until the *ex-officio* element is entirely swept away. If, with all the weight of his official position and personal eminence, a Dean or an Archdeacon

cannot obtain the suffrages of his fellow-presbyters, he is not deserving of a seat among the representatives of the clergy. More especially is this the case in the event of Convocation reasserting its claim to regulate the endowments of the Church, for the property of most of the Chapters has been administered for three-quarters of a century by the Ecclesiastical Commission. On the other hand, representation should be given to well-defined non-parochial "societies" such as religious orders, university faculties of theology, and perhaps to the clergy of the greater Church Societies such as the Corporation of the Church House, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, etc. Care should, however, be taken that such enfranchisement was not a permanent right, but subject to revision at stated intervals and that the total representation granted should never exceed one tenth of the whole. No one of Apostolic character should be allowed to sit in the Lower House, whether elected or *ex-officio*. A Bishop is out of place in such an assembly. Either, from modesty, he takes little or no part in the proceedings, or he places priests at a disadvantage in opposing him. It is true that we should lose the help of his learning and experience, but we should gain by being reminded of the truth, "once an Apostle, always an Apostle." We should not subconsciously divide the Apostolate into "real-bishops," "curate-bishops," and "ex-bishops." In the Greater Synod of the province all Bishops, with or without dioceses, are included, and it is not good for their authority that we should ever class them with the presbytery. Nor is it good for the Lower House of Convocation that it should be anything but a representative assembly of the priesthood. If it is not good for the latter *as an order* to take a distinct place in the administration of Church affairs, the Lower House should be abolished. A diluted and suspect assembly, held in leash by a watchful official class, seems more than a little out of place in the twentieth century.

Convocation, as we have seen, is an administrative body rather than a Sacred Synod—its legislative function in the realm of Order being confined to the framing of regulations giving effect to the decrees of the Apostolic College of the province. Such decrees require the consent of each individual Church (Diocese) expressed by vote of the presbytery. Even definitions of Faith must be thus confirmed, as Archbishop Darboy very clearly claimed in connection with the Vatican Council of 1870:—

In these questions, Bishops are witnesses who testify, not authors who discover. The conditions essential to an article of faith are: that it be revealed by God, and that it be contained in the Deposit which the Christian centuries have faithfully guarded and transmitted one to another without alteration. It is incredible that five or six hundred Bishops will affirm in the face of the world that they have found in the convictions of their respective Churches that which is not there.—*Leto*, Eight Months in Rome, p. 268.

Unfortunately for the good Archbishop of Paris this is exactly what did happen at the Vatican Council, and, since we can hardly hope that our "Royal Supremacy" Diocesans will take a more responsible view of their trust, it is necessary to insist on the duty of each Church (Diocese) to bear independent testimony on all matters of Faith.

With regard to questions relating to Jurisdiction it is obvious that disciplinary regulations can only be of force, if they receive the express assent of the Church in which they are to be applied. Any other arrangement, except by what may be called a "permanent treaty" between Churches for the sake of uniformity, denies the inherent independence of the individual Churches under the general oversight of the Apostolate. There is, I believe, a very general desire among the English Bishops to-day to see the status of the Churches under them restored to its primitive importance. That some (more particularly Modernist diocesans) prefer the system of Machiavelli and Henry VIII. is true, and they find ready support among

all parties from those who are concerned only with resisting their own assertion of private judgment. For this reason, the general body of the clergy may be earnestly implored to study the constitutional authority of the Diocesan Synod, acting with which the Bishop can claim obedience conditioned only by the right of appeal to higher authority.

Notice of the dates for the assembly of the presbytery of the Diocese under its Bishop is to be given (according to Benedict) on or about Jan. 1 in each year. We will assume that the times he suggests are thus fixed in Eastertide and towards the end of October. Instead of a monthly Mass, it will probably be found better in England to hold public intercessions for the guidance of the Synod on the Ember Days (Lent and September) and on the Sundays preceding the meetings. The devotional scheme outlined by Benedict is otherwise worthy of the closest imitation.

At the Eastertide Synod the Bishop opens the proceedings with a "King's Speech" outlining the business to be brought forward. He divides this into three sections: (1) that which relates to Convocation and the other dioceses; (2) that which concerns his diocese only; (3) judicial business. Each of these is taken in turn, individual members of the Synod being at liberty to bring forward proposals of their own after the official agenda has been dealt with.

The first class of business includes all questions which are before Convocation (or the Church Assembly) on which the Bishop wishes to know the opinion of his clergy. Clearly, information of this kind will be of the greatest assistance to him and to the proctors in Convocation when the matter is discussed there. Opinions so expressed are not in any sense "synodical decrees." They are not even advice to the Bishop as to how to treat the question in the provincial assembly or elsewhere. Nor do they commit the Diocesan Synod to any definite course of action. On the contrary, in nearly

every case, it may be taken for granted that a Synod, after expressing its opinion with regard to a proposed regulation, would not press it when the contrary, embodied in a provincial decree, comes ultimately before them for promulgation.

Next comes the discussion of matters which concern the Diocese only. First, the Bishop lays before the Synod the provincial decrees which he proposes to promulgate as part of the body of law to be observed by all in the Diocese. No amendment, of course, to these can be moved. They must be accepted or rejected by the presbytery in the form offered to them. In the rare event of rejection, the Bishop announces that he will report the matter to the provincial authority and advises the Synod to appoint a deputation to represent their objections if called upon. The matter then stands over till the next session. When all the provincial decrees have been promulgated (or deferred), the Bishop lays before the Synod decrees which he proposes, with their consent, to promulgate for the regulation of the diocese as an independent unit. It will be as well to give a definite example of this in some detail.

There is no law of any sort regulating the manner of reserving the Blessed Sacrament, nor is there any law prohibiting such reservation. By the covenant of Uniformity between the Dioceses only the provincial Synod has power to initiate legislation restricting the liberty of action of the clergy in their ministerial acts. Does this apply to local rules promulgated with the object of avoiding irreverence or other abuse connected with Reservation? It would be possible to argue in the affirmative, but for the purpose of the present discussion, we will assume that it has been decided (as it certainly would be if the question were put to the Apostolic College) that a Diocesan is competent to regulate the practice within his jurisdiction. For this purpose the Bishop desires a Synodical decree limiting the place and manner to an aumbry in the north wall

of a side chapel, and that no light shall be kept burning to indicate that the Sacrament is there reserved. He lays the proposed Decree before the Synod, and immediately amendments are moved. The first is to omit all words after "That," and to substitute "under no circumstances shall the Sacrament be reserved at all." The Bishop may either rule that this amendment is *ultra vires* as restricting the ministerial freedom secured under the Covenant of Uniformity, or he may allow a vote to be taken. The amendment is lost, and another priest moves to substitute after "be reserved in" the words "a place to which none but the parish clergy can have access." This amendment being also lost, the other party has its innings with the proposal that the place be a Tabernacle on the High Altar. Defeated, they propose a Tabernacle on a side Altar. Defeated again, they move to omit the reference to a side Altar altogether, so as to allow reservation at the High Altar. This also being lost, they make a final rally and obtain a vote omitting the prohibition of a light before aumbry. In that form the proposed decree is accepted, namely, that the Sacrament must be reserved in an aumbry in a side chapel, the question of light or no light being left to the discretion of the parish priest, as is the case of everything not definitely forbidden by Synodical Decree. The Bishop has now to decide whether he will promulgate the decree in the amended form or leave things *in statu quo*. True, he has not got consent to all that, in his opinion, should be added to the law, but it is difficult to see how he could, unless the Synod is to be regarded as a kind of Sixth Form making humble representations to the Head Master of a public school and expected to say, "Yes, Sir," "Thank you, Sir," if he decides against their expressed desires. And that is not a position in which to place grown men who have spent large sums of money in order to qualify for being allowed to make the sacrifices required for the ministerial call to-day. There is certainly nothing in the suggested procedure to justify

the fear expressed by Cyril of Southwark (who is otherwise a prominent advocate of a "constitutional episcopate") that he might be called upon to "surrender the principle of episcopal government, and to rapidly become the executive officer of the Synod." I venture to suggest to those who share Dr. Garbett's fears, that they are totally mistaking the function of the Synod, which is neither legislative nor advisory, but (in accordance with Matt. 18) judicial. The legislative authority is neither the Diocesan nor the Council of Diocesans (Convocation), but the Apostolate *in solidum*. A Synod is bound to give judgment when called upon *in accordance with the law as it is, not as it should be*. Except in response to Apostolic or Episcopal request, it is doubtful whether a Synod may properly even express an opinion on proposals to alter the law. But it has the undoubted right to refuse to register anything which the presbytery hold to be contrary to the Deposit of Faith or the edification of the Church's work, even when ordered to do so by a Council claiming Œcumenical authority. Such refusal may lead to the excommunication of those persisting in it, but history affords plenty of examples, from Athanasius onward, of this being done, and yet the recalcitrant minority being proved right in the end.

After any business connected with the (local) Synodical decrees introduced by the Bishop, individual members of the Synod may propose similar regulations. Even if carried unanimously, however, they can only be promulgated by the Bishop himself—his consent not to be unreasonably refused. If he exercises his veto as the *episkopos* of the Apostolate, the Synod may, by formal resolution, enter an appeal against his action before the Great Synod of the province and appoint a deputation to lay the case before them at their next meeting.

Lastly, having finished the discussion of general Diocesan order, the Synod attends to judicial business under the direction of the Synodical Witnesses. These

lay before the Synod (1) appeals from the decisions of the Ruri-decanal Chapters, and (2) complaints which they themselves enter as "public prosecutors." With regard to the formal class of suits, the Witnesses report (as in the case of the Greater Synod) whether, in their opinion, the appeal is "vexatious." If this opinion is not challenged, judgment is given at once by a majority vote. All other suits are tried in accordance with the ordinary procedure of English Law. Assisted by the Synodical Judges the Bishop (or his Vicar) presides over the trials and, after the verdict is given by vote, pronounces judgment as the King's judges do in civil cases. When all are concluded the Bishop dismisses the Synod with a second "King's Speech," unless he allows "other business" to be brought forward.

The only "other business" which has a right to a place on the agenda is the electing of the various Synodical officials, which should be at the close of the autumn meetings. The most convenient procedure in most dioceses will be for the Bishop to announce in his opening speech the names of those who he proposed to nominate as Secretary, Notary, etc. (see p. 82). Since these officials are appointed by, and responsible to, the Synod, other candidates can be proposed before the elections take place, but normally the Bishop's nominee would be elected unopposed, if only because the Bishop is better acquainted than anyone with the needs of the Diocese. We can, therefore, assume that the actual contested elections (if any) will be confined to the choice of Judges, Witnesses, Examiners, and the Prolocutor or Proctor, who is the official mouthpiece of the presbytery to the Bishop and (if necessary) to higher authority. For each of the three committees, each presbyter writes down six names on the first day. The votes are counted during the proceedings, and on the last day voting papers, bearing the names of the twelve most favoured candidates, are provided, members of the Synod marking the six they prefer. It is

understood, of course, that no presbyter may refuse to serve if elected, except by leave of the Synod. The Proctor is nominated in the same way on the first day, the choice at the election being between the two most favoured candidates.

On the resignation, translation or death of the Bishop the see is vacant, and the Vicar-capitular (i.e., a priest appointed by the Cathedral Chapter) takes charge of the Diocese pending the Royal *cong  d' lire*. With this the Chapter receives "letters missive" ordering them to elect the Royal nominee. The Vicar-capitular should forthwith summon the Synod, and before the election takes place, announce to the Synod the name of the Bishop-designate. The Synod would then vote a request to the Chapter either to accept or to refuse the Royal candidate. In the latter event they would enter a protest with the Primate against his enthronisation. There is nothing in the Submission of the Clergy to the Crown forbidding such an expression of opinion by the Synod—although Henry VIII. himself might have taken another view of their "treasonable" action!—and a very great deal to recommend it in these days of the Submission of the Crown to Parliament. Even an anti-Church Premier would hesitate to nominate an advanced Modernist to a Diocese like that of Birmingham, if the normal procedure included an opportunity for corporate protest by the clergy. On the other hand, the assent of the Synod to the Crown nomination would be of inestimable advantage to the very difficult work of a modern Bishop, and it is certain that the efficiency of the ecclesiastical administration would be much increased thereby.

Between the Diocesan Synod and the "courts of first instance," the Ruri-decanal Chapters, the link is the Committee of the Synodical Witnesses, one of whom should attend Chapter meetings when complaints were being tried. Possibly also one of the Synodical Judges should attend also to advise on points of law. When we speak of Church cases to-day, the mind

naturally turns to the trial of "ritualistic" clergy, but it should be remembered that this is really a small and unimportant detail of the judicial responsibility of the Church. Under a clear legal code there would probably not be one such case in a generation. As far as the clergy are concerned a much more frequent ground of complaint would, and should be, dereliction of duty—the failure to hold the services ordered, to visit and minister to the sick, absence from the parish without making proper provision, etc. But far more important is the discipline of the laity. It is, for example, a sign of weakness that a "notorious evil-liver" is allowed to cut the Church without incurring any censure, and that no attempt is made to arbitrate in the bitter disputes between Church workers which not infrequently threaten to wreck the work of the parish. The Sunday School Teacher, the District Visitor (paid or unpaid), the Club leader and every other kind of Church worker has rights as well as responsibility. It can hardly be doubted both that the parish priest will feel less awkward in giving orders and the worker less reluctant to accept them, if both know that justice was guarded corporately by the presbytery of the Rural Deanery. A system in which one party to an agreement has the sole and uncontrolled right to decide differences of opinion does not attract the strongest type of worker.

With regard to the Synodical Examiners, their office is to report to the Bishop as to the fitness of nominees for the work of the parishes (or other freeholds) when vacancies are to be filled. Even without further statutory power conceded to the Bishop, such a report would be of great value to him in dealing with unsuitable appointments. He has already the right to refuse to institute on any good ecclesiastical ground, and it is doubtful how far such refusal can be challenged in any temporal court. With the expressed opinion of the Synod behind him he could feel fairly confident that no repetition of the Gorham judgment would be attempted. Again, and even more strongly, we realise

the difference between *personal* action by a Bishop as Diocesan, and action taken by him in his *corporate* capacity as representative of the Diocese. Instead of being powerless to stop the unsuitable appointments which are made every day, in the majority of cases he would find it sufficient to communicate to the patron an unfavourable report from the Examiners and a fresh nomination would be made.

So far we have been considering the readjustment of the ecclesiastical machine solely in relation to the part assigned to those with Apostolic or presbyteral Character. Until a century ago it was taken for granted that the laity functioned through the King and Parliament, the Diocesans having a small share in this "civil power" allowed them on account of the various ecclesiastical corporations being property holders. With the abolition of the Test Acts, the machine of State became undenominational, even the Sovereign (however devoted a member of the Church of England) being compelled to take up a position of impartiality towards all religions, Christian or otherwise. A real blank in Church government gradually became apparent, and in 1885 resolutions were passed by the Canterbury Convocation, in which a scheme was set out for the convening of a House of Laymen in parallel to the Upper and Lower Houses of the Province. The constituent electors of this representative body were to be the lay members of the (voluntary) Diocesan Conferences, themselves elected by the (also voluntary) Ruri-Decanal provinces. With the passing of the Church Assembly Act the Houses of Laymen in the two provinces were formally recognised by statute law, with the proviso that proper constitutions should be drawn up by the Assembly for the Diocesan and Ruri-decanal Conferences. These bodies, therefore, have also statutory authority in their own spheres. It is not clear how far they have ecclesiastical standing and for that reason it may be hoped

that in the near future commissions of inquiry will be set up by the Convocations to regularise the position. Until that is done, there are difficulties in the way of suggesting readjustments. But, as the machine works very stiffly here, one or two apparent defects should be pointed out.

The Houses of Laymen have definite, though restricted, legislative powers in connection with the Church Assembly, and equal control with the Convocations over the central funds financed by the diocesan quotas. At present only minor defects, chiefly of procedure, are apparent in the system as far as the laity are concerned, and, as these concern the whole Church Assembly rather than its constituent Houses, they may be passed over here.

The Diocesan Conferences, however, have generally little semblance of reality. This is largely, but not entirely due, to the timidity of the Bishops, who are half afraid of anti-clerical tendencies on the part of the "faithful laity," and consequently still try to fly their Conferences with a string. A more ungrounded and unwise apprehension it would be difficult to conceive. Just as the priesthood is much more likely to become anti-episcopal if it is treated like a Sixth Form, so the laity will distrust the clergy in exact proportion to the lack of confidence placed in their loyalty. A good deal could be said for limiting the "civil power" when every citizen, good or bad, was compelled for his own comfort or profit to be a Churchman. But a voluntary association, such as the Church of England is to-day, can hardly hope to stir up the spirit that is in its members if it mixes exorcism with exhortations in dealing with their zeal. That from time to time self-will and faction will lift its head among the laity is a necessary consequence of the weakness of human nature, but neither Bishop nor priest is entitled to prepare a heap of stones ready to fling at possible offenders. The temptation is too strong to use for offensive purposes weapons prepared for defence. And

with the Synodical courts functioning properly there need be little fear of purely factious disturbance of the Church's peace.

For this reason, "Trust the laity" should be a fundamental maxim of constitutional arrangements for the administration of those matters in which their co-operation is sought. Every non-elected element in their assemblies should be swept away, with the exception of certain diocesan officials responsible to the Bishop. Even these, however, should not have the right to vote in divisions, so that resolutions of the Chamber of Laity in the Diocesan Conference may be genuine and uncontrolled expressions of lay opinion.

The present method of election to the Diocesan Conferences is unsatisfactory, as all indirect representation must be. A better plan would be to follow somewhat the procedure outlined for the appointment of the Synodical officials (see p. 103). At the opening of the Ruri-decanal Conference next after Easter, every member of Conference is to be asked to fill in a nomination paper with names of possible candidates to the number allotted to the Deanery (say six). Those willing to serve if elected, are marked on the list thus prepared, and the *twelve* most favoured are announced as "Laymen and lay women invited to stand for the Diocesan Conference." Voting papers bearing their names are sent, under the care of Ruri-decanal officials, on the following Sunday, to the various Churches of the Deanery to be marked by those on the Membership Roll, each having *six* votes. The voting papers are collected and the result posted in the Churches during the week. In this way not only will the elected representatives be in closer touch with their constituents, but a real meaning (on the diocesan plane) be given to Church membership.

For the transaction of business there are two principal weaknesses in the present working of the Diocesan Conferences—the infrequent meetings and (to any but the leisured) the inconvenient times—often, also, the

inconvenient place. All these difficulties can be overcome by studying the arrangements of the Wesleyan circuit system. If, as in most dioceses, the area is too large for quarterly sessions, the diocese should be subdivided into two or three circuits, kept in touch with one another by a small Conference of Delegates from the circuit assemblies. The archdeaconries in most cases would provide convenient circuits, which should be based on considerations of modern transport facilities as much as on the traditional geography. Any circuit could initiate business and the Delegates would be bound to transmit such proposals to the other circuits. Their own decisions would require confirmation by a majority of the sum of the votes given in the various sections of the Conference each in its own circuit. The adoption of this circuit system of deliberation would incidentally facilitate the desirable identification of the Chamber of Clergy with the Diocesan Synod, which could appoint a Committee of Delegates to meet those of an enlarged Chamber of Laity and so make the assembling of an over-large Diocesan Conference a rare and somewhat formal event, perhaps triennially to correspond with and give point to the Episcopal and Archidiaconal Visitations.

Both the circuits and the Diocesan Conference itself in full assembly should be convened on Friday evenings and Saturday afternoons as a general rule, to allow those who are engaged in business to serve. The circuits should meet quarterly and in parallel to the Ruri-decanal Conferences. The latter should be empowered to hold property in trust for the Rural Deanery, and a Commission of the Diocesan Conference should be appointed to assist in this undertaking. The Diocesan Conference should set up also a school for teaching the way to conduct procedure, and Rural Deans should be assisted by persons so qualified in the direction of the business of their Conferences.

With the exception of the obtaining of powers to hold and to administer Church property as freely as

non-established religious bodies in England, none of the readjustments proposed in this Chapter requires changes in the statutory limitations accepted by the Church in return for the privilege of official leadership in English religion. The only opposition to be foreseen is from those who get £1,500 a year for sinecures, and little attention need be paid to them, either morally or practically. Everything else depends on the spirit in which the problem of rebuilding Jerusalem is approached. If, like Nehemiah, we can say, 'The people have a mind to work (Neh.4⁶)', we have all the freedom we want. It is not necessary to interfere with the statutory rights of the Crown or of private patrons. It is not necessary to take the machine to pieces and remake it. All that is needed is to "unstop the old wells," and the water of life will bubble up abundantly. In the following chapters I propose to show one or two directions in which the effect of Government by Character may be quickly shown.

CHAPTER VI.

SOME PROBLEMS AND THEIR SOLUTION.

THE most formidable problem before the Church of England (as indeed before any part of the Church Catholic) is to bring the Gospel near to the indifferent. To stablish the faithful and to strengthen the weak is an internal task, urgent and unceasing, but the primary commission from the Lord is to preach the Gospel to those outside and to baptise them in the Name of the Blessed Trinity. This mission, like charity, begins at home, and if we fail there we cannot be whole-hearted in the work of evangelisation elsewhere. For success it is obvious that the present ministerial staff of the Church is inadequate, certainly in quantity and perhaps in quality.

The two are intimately allied under present conditions. Quality on the intellectual and administrative side depends on training, and, therefore, since after ordination to the diaconate this training is received in the experience of parish work, on the parish priests who "employ" the newly-ordained as assistant curates. The standard of incumbent efficiency depends on the number of clergy from whom selection can be made for the cures of souls. As the supply lessens, fewer really satisfactory trainers can be found. The number of those inefficiently equipped for parochial work increases in proportion, and so on. It is a vicious circle from which there seems so little escape that many diocesans seem to have abandoned any hope of breaking free.

Yet it is a fact that the lack of clergy is less a problem than an opportunity—almost a call to reorganise the ministry after a pattern in which the modern world (for once in a way) has absorbed the very essence of Christianity, that instinct for service which we all have

but most are compelled to abandon in the struggle for existence. During the last four hundred years a completely new type of social organisation has grown up in England as a consequence of our discovering the use to which this instinct can be put. Those who study at all closely continental affairs will be aware that most of the troubles there to-day are due to the imitation of English institutions by peoples who are not yet thoroughly equipped with the type of man which is essential for their proper working.

It is easiest to explain the position by taking one single detail of the social revelation for which England has been responsible (almost solely responsible) since the reign of Elizabeth. In her days industry and trade were entirely carried on by small masters, each employing a few journeymen or clerks under his own immediate and active supervision. The master had himself started as an apprentice, qualified as a journeyman, and finally either bought out with his savings a retiring master—much as a doctor buys a practice to-day—or set up a new business where he thought there was an opening. Every journeyman could look forward with confidence to a similar career if he were not a waster. The organisation of the Church followed an even more primitive model. England was still a country of village communities, each with its own squire, its own parson, grouped round market towns where small masters and traders supplied the local needs. Consequently, there were very few “curates” (in the sense of assistant curate) or “journeyman-parsons,” and it was easy for a priest to obtain the position of “master-parson,” even before he was properly “out of his time.” Shortage of clergy in those days meant a shortage of incumbents.

During the seventeenth century a change gradually developed in the industrial and trading organisation of the world. It began in the Dutch cities, where ocean-carried commercial exchange necessitated operations on a larger scale and employing in a single business a

considerable number of men. An "under-master" class grew up—ship masters ruling despotically a group of seamen for a period of months or years and accounting from time to time for their stewardship—"masters" of factories (trading stations) in America and the Indies—and so on. Many of these were part owners of the sections of the business which they managed, and the success of the whole undertaking depended on their loyalty to the service which all shared alike. These men never expected to become masters in the full sense of freeholders, nor, as a rule, did they desire such "promotion." As long as they were sure of the standard of living which they required, they were proud and happy to think that their work was making the "owner" great. They trusted him to look after them, and his greatness was their security.

England, following in the steps of the Dutch, rapidly outstripped them. It has always been one of the strongest characteristics of the English that they stand by one another as it were automatically. To revert to the parable in Chapter I, they played "cricket" in ordinary life long before the game was invented. What may be called a "curate-class" grew up rapidly, and during the eighteenth century this class began to change the whole social organisation of mankind, first in England, and still in widening circles throughout the world. The fabric of society to-day depends for stability and for progress not on the merchant-prince, or the great industrialist (the so-called "capitalist") but on the head-clerk, the factory-manager, etc. The latter's life is in his work. He has not ambition to succeed on what is falsely called the "higher scale." If by any chance a fortune comes his way, he is miserable. He asks simply for the standard of living of his class, reasonable security for the duration of his life, loyal and fair treatment by those using his work, and opportunity to save sufficient to place his children in similar positions. To call him *bourgeois* is the silly

abuse of backward and conceited peasant-thinkers, common enough (alas!) still on the continent of Europe. His is the true spirit of *service*—to those below and to those above—the instinct of co-operation in every department of human activity. Incidentally, he is the backbone of the Church of England.

Yet no attempt has been made to adapt our ministerial organisation so as to make use of this wonderful new “curate-class.” The Church continues to think in terms of village communities and small “journeyman-master” businesses. Candidates for Holy Orders serve an apprenticeship at College and in the Diaconate, are ordained as “journeyman-parsons,” and are expected in the natural course to “find an opening as master-parson,”—in other words, to attract the attention of a patron, for the territorial system forbids them to “set up their plate” like a doctor does if he cannot obtain a practice otherwise. In most urban dioceses there are more assistant curates than incumbents, and if “promotion” was by seniority no one under the age of 45 would be beneficed. As it is rare for a man over 40 to be appointed to a cure of souls, and quite usual for men of 30 or even younger to be so preferred, the result is that something more than half the curates can never hope to be “master-parsons” in the diocese of their ordination. Many ultimately drift off into small country livings for which their previous experience renders them unsuitable—some (and perhaps more than one would like to count) are broken and disappear altogether. Is it to be wondered at that the manager-class, with all its instincts of service, is hesitating more and more to spend money on training its sons for a ministry which has no person and no authority responsible for seeing that they are secure for life subject to good behaviour?

Nor is this, bad as it is, the worst of the evil. From the moment of his ordination, unless he has friends in high places to look after him, the young priest is compelled to consider his chances of preferment. He

must think personally, not corporately. He must act so that his superiors will realise what a valuable man he is. If his vicar is an important person, well and good; but if his vicar is a little jaded and faded and out of the limelight, the curate is tempted to thrust himself well to the fore, and troubles of all sorts arise in the parish. We get, consequently, two types of Church work—that of the strong and pushing incumbent, where “success” is written in a full Church and thriving organisations, and that of the “failure.” The former, who could do without curates, can get any number—the latter none. Who is going to “throw himself away” in a place like that? Meanwhile, the country parishes are staffed with town clergy who have left the real work for which their tastes and experience qualify them, because middle age is a dangerous milestone for the unbeneficed. Town and country suffer alike—the former from lack of men, the latter from furnishing a ministerial refuge to many who do not (with the best will in the world) really understand its needs.

The remedy is so simple that one can only wonder it has not been adopted many years ago, especially as its secondary effect would be to solve (incidentally) several other problems which urgently demand attention. Let us suppose that in a big urban Diocese like London or Southwark a College of Diocesan Service is set up. Every unbeneficed priest licensed under seal is automatically a member of the College by virtue of his license. The College is empowered to raise money and to administer it for the benefit of its members, accepting on behalf of the Diocese the responsibility for the unbeneficed clergy, for their old age, for the maintenance of them when “out of work,” making grants in sickness, for their wives, children, and so on. It is necessary that membership of the College should be compulsory, and that every Church which is allowed to have the services of an assistant priest shall allot the offerings on Whit-Sunday (or other suitable Sun-

day) to the College. There is a strong feeling of sympathy generally for the "curate" to-day, and at the outset very considerable sums would be subscribed for the endowment of the College, while we may be fairly sure, until it became obviously over-wealthy, that it would receive a revenue from the annual collections of not less than £10 a member. Many of the members would not require assistance, and ample funds would therefore be available for helping those in need. Indeed, it is hardly undue optimism to prophesy that a College of Diocesan Service would not be in operation for many years before the prospect of "preferment" would be a dark cloud rather than a Morning Star. "You are a beast, vicar," one can picture the middle-aged curate with the lineless face saying to his careworn master, "the Bishop writes that you think I ought to take the living of St. Aliquis." "Well," would be the weary reply, "you can't eat cake *all* your life, if you take up the work of the ministry."

A College of Diocesan Service cannot fail to change radically and for the better the relations between incumbents and their assistant clergy. The latter would (as now) be appointed and paid by the parochial authority, their license to the parish being subject (as now) to revocation by the Bishop at the request of the incumbent. Under present conditions the latter is a step of such fatal import that it is rarely resorted to—and (as far as my experience goes) only when a *parochus* who is not too efficient or gentle is a personal friend of the Bishop. But if "dismissal" simply meant transferring to the College the responsibility for the curate's future usefulness and support, there would be much less hesitation on all sides to use the very salutary power possessed by the Bishop to act as arbiter in disagreements between the clergy of a parish. Very few will doubt that, in some cases at least, junior clergy would do better work if they were more under discipline, and the incumbent would have less hesitation in enforcing it. Indirectly, if he were even approxi-

mately right, he would have not only the Bishop but the College behind him. Apart from the financial drain of "irresponsible and irresponsible" members, the whole tone of the latter would be bound to reflect the general feeling that there is something wrong about a priest who is always changing his sphere of work.

A certain amount of restlessness, however, is a good sign in most men under 35, and in the direction of this we have another secondary effect of Colleges of Diocesan Service. Men can be seconded to country dioceses, or to urban dioceses which are shorthanded, or, what is to-day almost as important, to Churches overseas. It is the fashion to-day to press the younger clergy to volunteer for work abroad for a term of years, and vague promises are held out that to do this will help them on when they return. One need not be out of sympathy with missionary enterprise to doubt the expediency of this from every point of view. To preach the Gospel among the heathen is not necessarily the best training for ministering to congregations at home, and it is a little scandalous that more than a dozen Bishops in full vigour (or at least able to take up exacting and responsible work again in the Church of England), not to mention a host of minor dignitaries, are increasing the difficulty of finding parishes for the middle-aged slum curates of our great towns. There is all the difference in the world between foreign service as an incident in a career and as part of the general assistant ministry, the call of those who prefer to help others rather than to achieve greatness for themselves.

The question of the supply and organisation of the clergy is the most urgent problem which the Church of England to-day has to solve. Connected with it is the improvement of intellectual quality. [Spiritual and moral efficiency cannot be the subject of direct legislation.] Here the laity can help, not only by satirising our homiletic and other deficiencies, but by encouraging us to equip ourselves better for the task of giving

instruction and advice. In the Reformation period lectureships were founded and sermons endowed with the express object of encouraging preaching. Why is not this laudable practice revived to-day? Several very simple modern ways in which it could be done are easily suggested.

(1.) Bequests either to the Diocesan Synod or to the Chamber of Laity or to Ruri-decanal Chapters, the income to be applied to paying preachers from among the parochial clergy to deliver one or more sermons in Churches selected by the trustees on subjects approved by them.

(2.) Bequests to the same authorities endowing prizes for essays on selected subjects,¹ especially in connection with "social topics"—the successful essay being printed and distributed free or at a small cost.

(3.) The granting of Lambeth Degrees to all priests who have theological degrees at the state universities, and in this way forming a faculty of theology which could examine non-graduates in Holy Orders for a Lambeth B.D., and others for an L.Th. to take the place of the cumbrous and not over-popular "Archbishop's Diploma."

(4.) The making of grants from Diocesan and local funds, through the R.D. Chapters for the purchase of new books on the following plan. Books so purchased are to be selected by individual priests to the value allotted to each, and are to be held by him for two years on behalf of the Chapter Library, during which period he is bound to deliver them to the Librarian for use by others and at the end of which they become his own property. The Chapter Library otherwise should be limited to standard works of reference (dic-

¹ If any reader of this book would like to try a single experiment of this on the *diocesan scale*, I can arrange the judging, etc., through the Society of the Faith, without charge, so that the whole prize (£10 say) goes to the successful essayist. On a larger scale it would be necessary to set aside a substantial sum for the work of the judges.

tionaries, encyclopædias, and the like) kept in the nave of a central Church and marked *Not to be taken away*. In most towns it would probably be best for the Chapter Librarian to be a layman appointed by the R.D. Conference, if only to interest the laity in the encouragement of learning.

The whole bad business of faculties presents a problem of another character. The present system is costly, erratic, inefficient, and so completely out of date that not one parson in twenty knows the elements of the procedure. The first step towards better things is to separate the "spiritual" side of this department of jurisdiction (relating to marriage, etc.) from the temporal. The former must be under the control of officials appointed by the Bishop. The latter is suitable work for the Diocesan Conference, and should be subdivided into permissions to touch the permanent fabric and permissions to add to or dispose of moveables.

As regards the spiritual class of faculties, since judicial issues connected with them should be decided by the Synod, the Chancellor should obviously always be a priest of the diocese, and his office might conveniently be held by a member of the Bishop's Secretariat, or even by a Suffragan. His functions, shorn of the responsibility of delivering judgments, would be almost entirely administrative, confined to seeing that the Diocesan regulations were complied with.

The "temporal" faculties, however, need very radical alteration. It is nothing less than absurd that, when a competent architect, a member of the Institute, has prepared plans which the authorities of the Church approve and to which (after public notice duly given) no exception is taken in the parish, even after a formal meeting of the Vestry has been held to give opportunity for protest, some little lawyer-person should venture to "order" that alterations should be made—and charge x guineas for saying so. It is equally absurd and intolerable that he should be allowed to

forbid ornaments because he thinks them "superstitious." The only authority with any right to give judgment on questions of this kind is the Synod, and a case for them to try can be stated by any parishioner or by another priest elsewhere. If no one is willing to do this, we may confidently dismiss the bogey of superstition altogether. For there are Vigilance Committees of all sorts on the pounce, witch-doctors who can smell out superstition in the colour of floor-tiling.

Permanent alterations in the fabric of a Church, such as new buildings or fixtures, obviously need more careful oversight than the introduction or taking out of moveable articles. The latter can be removed if they prove to be unsuitable and no harm is done. But structural changes are not so easily remedied, especially as in many cases the parochial corporations do not contain a single person with expert knowledge. The Diocesan Conference, therefore, should appoint a small Committee to watch all alterations made in the structure of the parish Church, as from the artistic and historical point of view only. The members of the Committee would be notified of any application for faculties and of the date of the Vestry meeting to which the resolution therefor was to be submitted. Any member of the Committee would have the right to address the Vestry or to question the Vicar and Wardens, and, if he thought fit, could hold up the faculty until the Committee could be assembled to decide. An appeal from its decision to the Diocesan Conference could be made either by the promoters or opponents, and judgment would be given as in the Synodical Court by a majority vote of the Conference. On the technical side all that is necessary is that the architect is a fully qualified practitioner. The best way to secure this is to form an official Society of Church Architects, membership in which is accepted as evidence of competence. Minor building operations and repairs could be sanctioned by a surveyor appointed by the Ruridecanal Conference and responsible to the Archdeacon.

Moveable objects require no faculty other than a formal inclusion in the inventory of the Church. The parochial corporation should have absolute freedom to accept such gifts, subject to the right of any parishioner to state a case against their use on the grounds of "superstition." The court of first instance would be the R.D. Chapter with a right of appeal to the Synod. Objections raised for æsthetic reasons should be decided by a majority vote of the Church members at a specially summoned meeting.

Archdeacons should report regularly to the Diocesan Conference as to the care taken of the fabrics in their archdeaconries, and power should be given to the Conference to suspend any parochial corporation for a period not exceeding one year from control of the fabric, and to appoint a commission to act in their stead during the suspension.

With the changed social conditions of to-day, the Church of England has enlarged the field of its official and semi-official activities enormously. During the last 150 years "organisations" of every kind have grown up, which for the most part are parochial in character. Long may they remain so! Nothing illustrates better the value of the traditional English system of local and individual freedom where the law allows no interference by a central authority, than the amazing network of schools, clubs, charitable efforts, etc., which spread through the parishes of town and country. But, without interfering in the slightest with the freedom of the various units, a good deal can be done to assist their efficiency. Each R.D. Conference should offer the help of special voluntary Committees for auditing and for inspection. The former would be especially useful, because under modern conditions proper business management is essential to any undertaking. The latter would require careful watching that "inspection" was not made a lever to obtain control. Its contribution to efficiency would be es-

pecially valuable in two directions—the codification of, and publicity given to, results obtained in different places, and the recommendation of assistance (personal and financial) to good work temporarily in difficulties. For the present, at any rate, it will be advisable that such Committees should consist mainly or entirely of laity, for the work of the “organisations” is largely directed by the parochial clergy (generally from necessity rather than from choice) and we don’t take kindly to advice or interference from our brother-parsons! Perhaps we know too much of our own deficiencies to be welcomed as inspectors—the laity can be more easily persuaded (dear people) that only perfection exists.

It is not only in connection with semi-secular work that the Church of England to-day is, rightly and increasingly, making use of the services of her laity. The time has come when a definite place in the ministry should be assigned to them, and minor orders recognised as part of the ecclesiastical system. We have already an order of Readers, who curiously enough, by their charter (the Convocation resolutions of May, 1884) are only authorised to read *outside* the Church. It would be much better to go back to the Reformation use (based on the old order of *lectors*), and limit the Reader’s license simply by his character—that is to say, permit him to perform all rites which do not require a priest as the sole or the normal minister. Many parishes could, indeed, provide quite a “college” of Readers, faithful communicants who had retired from secular work, to share with the parish priest the responsibility for the Daily Office and make its public recitation, Morning and Evening throughout the year, a reality instead of the shadow of a duty. In these days of general education no examination is necessary beyond a simple test in elocution, or rather suitability of voice. Letters of testimonial should, however, be

required from three priests as in the case of candidates for Holy Orders.

The Order of Readers should have its own Synod instead of a "Diocesan Society of Lay Readers," and licenses should be issued to them (after examination) conferring further permission to act as Cantors (a title which should include Organists) and Lecturers. It is little less than amazing that Organists are appointed with little or no regard to their *ministerial* fitness. To be a musician of good character is sufficient, and in not a few cases it is considered bad form to inquire too closely into the latter qualification. Yet, both at a sung Eucharist and at the Daily Office, whether the service is devotional or otherwise depends largely on the type of the music chosen and the way it is rendered. It would surely be better to say the services without note than to have them "produced" by a man who was not prepared to regard his duties as part of the regular ministry of the Church.

The license as Lecturer is on a different footing—an enrichment of the ministry for outside work rather than its extension to bring in a class at present mainly non-ministerial yet "ministering" within. Very few laymen, however eloquent, make efficient preachers. The whole *mise-en-scène* of the pulpit tends to put them off as well as the wearing of a special dress in which their difference from the authoritative preachers is emphasised. But a definite and honourable status for qualified laymen to speak under special license is needed all the same—not so much for "mission services" (though this is important) as for the Sunday Schools and similar classes. Just as every Organist or Choirmaster should be a Reader with a Cantor's license, so every Superintendent should be a Reader with a Lecturer's license.

In parallel to the Order of Readers an Order of Women Ministers should be established, with the same two licenses as Cantors and Lecturers for the same purposes. There would be nothing inherently im-

proper in their being granted permission to take their turn with the Readers (and clergy) in the recitation of the Daily Office, but in the present state of public opinion there is little likelihood of such a development.

Another class of lay ministers is recommended in the report of a Joint Committee of the Canterbury Convocation (No. 556), namely, the minor Order of Sub-Deacons, with authority to administer the Chalice, baptise and bury, when no priest or deacon can be obtained. The intention is to relieve the pressure on the priesthood occasioned by the present shortage of clergy, but the revival of this minor Order will be of permanent value in giving recognition to those faithful Church workers who give their time and energy to assisting in the ceremonial of public worship. "There is now a large body of laymen," Dr. Frere points out in a note to the Report, "trained and accustomed to minister in the sanctuary. Among them are many of age and standing, who have proved their suitability and trustworthiness. To admit some of these to the sub-diaconate would be no rash step." Quite the contrary. If the test of fitness included an examination in elementary liturgiology, it would be a source of strength in more ways than one.

By a proper use of the gift of Minor Orders, therefore, we can not only make the work of the Church more efficient: we can encourage the rising generation of laity to be prepared to take their share in that work when their call comes. Every choir boy should look forward to earning ultimately a license as Cantor, every Sunday School scholar a license as Lecturer, every acolyte a license as Sub-Deacon. With this extension of the ministry to the faithful who are not separated by ordination, we should hear less of the "failure" of the Church being due to the shortcomings of its clergy. Critics would be fewer and sharers of the work more numerous.

The extension of the official ministry of the Church

(in certain of its applications) to the laity is important not only on account of the more efficient offering of the public worship and the more secular parts of "Church work" in connection with parishes, but also with reference to the Education problem. Those of us who are middle-aged were born when the Church was being dispossessed of the Universities and public schools which our forefathers founded. Simultaneously, a national system of secular elementary schools was set up. To these secondary schools are now added also on a non-religious basis. The parochial corporations clung desperately, and with wonderful self-sacrifice, to their schools where they already existed, but twenty years ago they were ordered (with the Bishops' consent) to hand the administration over to the secular authorities. To-day the approved policy is to abandon even the buildings and to acquiesce in the complete secularisation of the school system throughout both the provinces of Canterbury and York. The present desperate position, in which the vile leadership of the past has landed us, may leave us with no alternative but to surrender the vast properties with which the last century has endowed the Church for the purpose of elementary education. But we should certainly get a better bargain than a nebulous "right of entry," the principal effect of which would be to give the children the impression that religion was extraneous to ordinary life. It would be better to treat the three R's in the same way as apprenticeship to a trade, and have neither "undenominational" prayers nor the Life of Jesus presented "solely as history."

If we have to abandon our own school system, the following conditions must be insisted on as an absolute minimum.

(1.) Every school supported out of public money shall be compelled to have a Chaplain appointed by the R.D. Chapter. This is the rule with all public institutions, infirmaries, prisons, asylums, cemeteries, etc. Such Chaplain shall have the right to make what pro-

vision he thinks fit for the spiritual training of the children, and the sum of 1/- per child shall be paid to the R.D. Chapter. Of course, assistant chaplains on the same basis would be allowed to all other denominations.

(2.) The School Managers shall be apportioned according to the Christian bodies to which the children belong. The quota allotted to the Church shall be elected by the R.D. Conference. There is no necessity to fix a rigid standard for the number of Managers, and the Education Authority can easily arrange that all denominations (within reason) are represented.

(3.) Subject to considerations of order and efficiency, the Chaplain shall have power to arrange for the religious instruction of the children under his care at his sole discretion, and the head master shall see that such arrangements are properly carried out. He shall also have power to order the opening of school at the parish church on one day in the week—again as far as his own children are concerned—and the head master shall arrange for marking attendance etc. there, the children marching to school after service.

(4.) All schools shall be closed on days declared to be religious holidays by the Synod of the Diocese, and all teachers shall be freed from the obligation of sitting in half empty class rooms, as often happens now on Ascension Day. Of course, arrangements would have to be made for Nonconformist children, whose chaplains forbade them to keep holiday on such holy days.

(5.) Similar arrangements shall be made for every secondary or technical school or other educational institution supported out of public moneys. This is much more important than it seems, for in most public schools the religious arrangements are left to an assistant master, appointed because he can play games and be similarly useful in a number of minor ways. The higher-grade and technical schools are generally left without any spiritual provision at all. In the case of

the more ancient and important foundations the Chaplains had best be appointed by the Synod of the Diocese.

(6.) At the older Universities the religious arrangements at the Colleges shall be under the supervision of a Synod of the resident members of the University who are in Holy Orders and not left, as at present, to the unchecked discretion of the Fellows.

(7.) At the newer Universities Chaplains' Departments shall be set up under the control of the Synods of the dioceses in which they are situated.

(8.) All cadet corps shall have Chaplains appointed by the Synods of the dioceses on exactly the same terms as in the case of public schools, and the military authorities shall support them both at the cadet headquarters and when in camps for training.

(9.) All Chaplains shall have power, under synodical regulation, to delegate to Readers the discharge of such functions (e.g., reading prayers) as that minor Order is licensed to perform within the ecclesiastical area. This is a matter of special importance in reference to elementary schools, in most of which there are teachers who would readily take up the necessary qualification.

With regard to the financial problem, it may be taken for granted that, if the work of the Church is efficient, adequate voluntary contributions will be forthcoming. All the same, it is a pity that the opportunity afforded by the law in the levying of a Church rate is so generally neglected. For the appearance of the demand on the rate-paper is a continual reminder to faithful and unfaithful alike of their *duty* to support the cause of right. Now that Parish Councils have a statutory position, the old objections to indenting on the Guardians no longer exist. The Wardens should, therefore, require at least a half-penny rate to be levied annually, the proceeds being held and disbursed by them under the instructions of the elected body. That no one out of sympathy with the work of the Church would pay is, of course, not only probable but desir-

able—that the amount received would be at all considerable is doubtful—but the mere fact of the demand made would keep steadily in view the responsibility of all citizens in a Christian state (and England is still that by the consent of the overwhelming majority of its people) to support, if not the national Church, at least some similar organisation for the work of the Gospel.

CHAPTER VII.

“THE GLORIOUS COMPANY OF THE APOSTLES.”

WHEN the Church of England has put her own house in order by making the principle of Government by Character the guiding star of her organisations, she will be able to play an effective part in promoting the Reunion of Christendom. Without proper Synodical jurisdiction, directed by a constitutional episcopate and endorsed by a faithful priesthood, she appears in an unfamiliar dress to the settled and law-abiding Roman and Eastern-Orthodox Communions. And the stronger we make the central administration, the less “Catholic” do we appear to those who admit no true Apostolic tradition except their own.

A good illustration of this was given by the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev at a dinner given by the clergy and laity of the Church Assembly to the Patriarchs and Bishops taking part in the Nikæa sixteenth centenary in Westminster Abbey. His Grace, who is one of the most learned and conservative Eastern prelates, replied to the toast of the Reunion of Christendom, proposed by one of the King’s Cabinet Ministers (Sir Samuel Hoare, M.P.), and stated bluntly at the outset that to a toast “The Reunion of the *Churches*” he could not have replied. He knew but one Church, the One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ into which he had been baptised and ordained and of which he was a Bishop in full Apostolic succession. But, he continued, it was for that very reason he had come to England. He was just as much a Bishop of the Church in England as he was in Russia, and his brother of Canterbury was just as much a Bishop of the Church in Russia as in England. Church of Russia, or Church of England, neither was an entity in itself—neither could think of itself in distinction from the other. They were merely the national expressions of

the One Church, indivisible on earth and eternal in the heavens.

The Roman Catholic teaching with regard to the Church is practically identical on the theological plane. In practice, submission to the Pope is added to dogmatic orthodoxy and Apostolic succession as a test for its existence. But in theory there is, and can be, but one Church. If the bishops of the Roman obedience take a different view of the relation of the English dioceses to their own than that now universally held throughout Eastern patriarchates, the reason is because they have added a new test (submission to the Pope) since the first Council of Nikæa. They are equally sound on the doctrine of One Church. "Churches" can only be used in the plural in the sense of geographical groupings for the sake of convenience in administration. It must never be used in the sense of independent nations, in parallel to the political divisions of the human race. If, therefore, we wish to reunite Christendom, we must learn to think on the world-scale. We must so order our own "Churches" that their reactions on the rest of the One Church may tend to unity and brotherliness, not to strife and self-will.

Both the Western Churches in communion with Rome and the Eastern Churches in communion with the other patriarchal sees, therefore, cannot help judging the English Churches by the way in which the constitutional practice of "the Church of England" follows the universal synodical tradition of the One Church. There is a difference, naturally, in the point of view of the two Communion. Rome regards the synodical constitution as a regrettable survival from the unenlightened past of the age of the Councils—in much the same way as men like Dr. Knox, sometime Bishop of the Manchester diocese, regards pre-Reformation customs. Constantinople and the rest of the patriarchates resent the monarchical innovation of the modern Italian papacy as strongly as they do the rebellion and anarchy of Protestant

systems. They recognise that, in spite of the pressure of Rome and of Protestantism, the Church of England has retained her orthodoxy. But, until this is safeguarded by a return to proper synodical government, they are bound to observe an attitude of caution towards us. They distrust the future rather than the past or the present. If our system cannot control the disloyal elements in our own Household of Faith, can anyone blame them for being cautious in letting these run loose among the "faithful remnant" of the orthodox in the Levant? Thanks to the devoted and self-sacrificing work of a few humble priests¹ during the last twenty years, every barrier to inter-communion between Constantinople and Canterbury has been removed. Nothing more remains except to put our own house in order for this first step to be taken towards the Reunion of Christendom.

The position with regard to the Latin group of Churches is less hopeful, and the Anglo-Catholic school of thought would do well to take note of this. Action, like telegrams to the Pope from mass meetings, can only set back the work of reunion, and would be impossible if those responsible for it could be brought to realise the fundamental belief in the Unity of the Church voiced by Anthony of Kiev at the Nikæan commemoration. Even in the East this is a constitutional principle which is the foundation of all law. The Latins, with their logical and legalistic instincts, are like the Medes and Persians in the book of Daniel. Their law altereth not. Once a decree has been "bound" it cannot be "loosed." A claim once accepted

¹ Although he is my brother (and, therefore, I am not altogether an impartial witness), it would not be right to omit mentioning specifically the name of the Rev. J. A. Douglas, Vicar of St. Luke's, Camberwell. No better example can be given of the strength of the free English tradition than the work this simple incumbent of a working-class parish has been able to accomplish. In his own diocese just a *parochus*, like 400 others. But in the East a name coupled even with that of "Mar Randall" as a maker of history.

becomes an inalienable property right, like a grant of a monopoly in the bad old days of the Stuarts in England. To a Roman Catholic, therefore, the master-fact is that England once "belonged," as they put it, to Rome first as a province of the Empire, and later again as a province of the Church. It is impossible to avoid a certain amount of pity for Italians who cannot abandon their "beautiful" dream of world-wide dominion, and no Englishman, with the love of antiquity in his bones, is in a position to cast stones. But we should never forget that the word Reunion has a different meaning to us and to the Latin Churchman. Cardinal Mercier, for example, is bound to view the problem from the internal standpoint of his own Communion. "Decentralisation" has strong partisans, especially in the French Churches. How far can the Papacy go in this direction without abandoning the position in the One Church which it has gained? Is it possible to satisfy the Church of England, or even the Anglo-Catholic party therein, sufficiently to earn our submission as a whole or as a section?

I think the answer is emphatically in the negative. The very furthest that men like Lord Halifax would go would be the famous quadrilateral of the French Bishops in 1682,¹ and there are very few, even of the "advanced" school, who would submit on those terms, which incidentally every Italian would pronounce impossible. For this reason the only part which the Church of England can play in the Reunion of Western Catholicism is to provide a rallying centre to those who

¹ Adopted by the Bishops and Presbyters of the French Churches assembled under warrant of Louis XIV. The Four Articles were:

1. That the Pope could not release subjects from obedience to the temporal power.
2. That the Decrees of Constance on the supreme authority of the Council remain in full force in Christendom.
3. That the independence of the Church of France must be maintained.
4. That the decisions of the Pope are not infallible.

put the authority of the Apostolate as a body-corporate above that of any single Apostolic see, however famous or however powerful to-day. We are still unwilling (and shall probably continue to be unwilling) to run Missions on the continent, as the Papists do in England, in competition with the settled Churches of "Roman Catholic countries"—though we could do this with greater success than has been achieved by the supporters of the Pope in our islands and elsewhere in the Empire. But we can show to the Western Churches generally a more excellent Catholic way based on the synodical tradition, and by this means strengthen the Decentralisation Movement for reform in order that they themselves may check the dry-rot which is slowly and steadily undermining their evangelistic mission.

Both for the assistance of the Decentralisation Movement in the Latin Churches and for the clearing of our own relations to the Western Patriarchate, it is necessary that the Church of England should abandon her attitude of aloofness towards her neighbours in matters spiritual. We can no longer, now that we grant complete "liberty of conscience" in England, pretend that they do not exist. Yet the time is not ripe for the opening of negotiations for mutual recognition. Formal approach to Rome by Canterbury would only embitter the existing impasse by calling forth a silly answer declaring the loving nature of the heart of the Holy Father which bleeds, etc., and expressing, with the meekness characteristic of the Roman See, the willingness of the "Shepherd of Shepherds" to receive the submission of the wandering English sheep. The alternative of unofficial conversations, which Lord Halifax has pursued with wonderful charity and patience throughout a long and useful life, is little more helpful. Being conducted in private, such negotiations give unlimited opportunities for intrigue. Every placatory statement on our side is sedulously twisted by the subtle Italian mind to prove that Anglo-Catholics

are on the verge of surrender, and that, *therefore*, Decentralisation must be suppressed in the interests of unity. Until the Ultramontane has begun to understand what an Englishman means by the word "gentleman," there seems little hope that conversations will be helpful in any way whatever.

But there is one thing which the Church of England can do to prepare the ground for better relations between the two principal groups of Western Catholics, and this should be taken in hand at once. The Convocation of Canterbury¹ can request the Theological Faculties of its Universities to set up a Commission to examine and to report on all synodical action taken by the rest of the Western Patriarchate since the excommunication and deposition of Elizabeth by Pius V. The expense of such a Commission, which would not exceed more than a few hundreds a year, might well be shouldered by the Central Board of Finance, if some Society (e.g., S.P.C.K.) could not be found to undertake responsibility as part of its general work.

Assume that a Commission to examine the developments in continental Catholicism is appointed. Its first work is to examine dispassionately the actual legal situation arising in the Western Church from Pius V's headstrong action. The claims of the Papacy then advanced to depose "civil magistrates" are set down formally in black and white, and the opinion of the theological faculties in Universities outside England are invited. Two possible ways of answering (apart from the silence which Universities under Ultramontane influence would adopt) are available. Either the claims would be justified or they would be rejected. We should know where we are on the actual *legal* issue between England and Rome.

Next comes a detailed examination of the Decrees of Trent and of other synodical action (such as the Gallican Quadrilateral) taken by the Latin Churches since the Reformation. This has never been done at all com-

¹ As the premier Province of the Anglican Communion.

pletely, or in any sense officially, on the part of the Church of England. A surprising measure of dogmatic agreement will be apparent, especially now that the heirs of the disputants in the old controversy between Faith and Works have changed sides. For the modern Protestant holds strongly that it doesn't matter what a man believes as long as what he does is all right—while the modern Papist is saved by his unswerving faith in the Pope and the Church under his obedience! Probably only on the very substantial dogma of Papal authority as *jus divinum*, and on the difficult theological question of the nature of the Real Presence, does any substantial disagreement exist. Again we should have cleared the ground for a future discussion of differences.

With regard to those matters on which the Commission was unable to advise agreement, they would draw up a table of alternative "definitions." These, as in the case of the legal examination of the breach in the Western Patriarchate, they submit to the Catholic theological faculties of the Western Universities, and, after considering the criticisms received from various sources, lay the result of their labours before the Greater Synod of the Province whose Convocation had instituted the inquiry. It may be assumed that the Table of Alternative Definitions will be accepted with perhaps some modifications.

The theological issue between the two groups of Churches in the Western Patriarchate once clearly stated in this circumscribed form, an opportunity arises for positive action towards healing the breach. Canterbury can, without risk of compromising itself, ask Rome for its judgment on the statement drawn up by the English experts. Rome can, without abating its claims, give such judgment. We are bound, indeed, to take into account the possibility (alas! the serious possibility) of the Roman response being influenced by other than theological considerations. But the actual issue raised would not really in any way trench on the

realm of constitutional law, and Rome would herself abrogate her claim to decide doctrinal questions if she refused to "give judgment" here. We may, therefore, assume that some sort of answer will be returned to Canterbury's request, and the nature of that answer will show us our duty towards the continent of Europe in the future. For it is very clear that our present attitude of "splendid isolation" cannot, under modern conditions of intercourse, be maintained without serious damage to the work of the Gospel.

Let us first assume that the more moderate elements in the Roman Catholic Churches are able to influence Rome to return a courteous answer, insisting perhaps on every point in their theological and constitutional system, but at the same time rejoicing in the opportunity afforded for the improvement of relations. An opening is left for *formal* negotiations, the first step being discussions between theological experts from both sides for the discovery of formulæ which will still further lessen the sharpness of the dividing line. Each group of experts reports from time to time to the authority (Latin or English) from which they hold their commission—again without prejudice to any ultimate decision. According to the genuineness of the mutual desire for peace, these discussions will be fruitful or the reverse. But whether reunion ultimately resulted or no, better relations between Latin and English Christianity could hardly fail to be brought about by "œconomy."

On the other hand, we are bound to face the possibility (alas! even the probability) of the Come-to-heel or Ultramontane party being in possession of the Papal machine. They are fully alive to the danger of the slightest concession to the Anglican point of view, because it is also the Gallican and, to a considerable extent, the German and Austrian. They think solely in terms of the One Church, i.e., the Italian or Roman Imperial "centre of unity," which indeed *allows* the retention of ancient liberties in various places, but only

as an act of grace—not in any way by right. The least weakening in the demand for universal submission without will at once strengthen the “rebellious” Decentralisation party within. Accordingly, the Anglican movement for better relations must be nipped in the bud. A pained and surprised attitude must be adopted. The Holy Father, exalted Shepherd and Lover of Souls (see various passages in Scripture for the language) welcomes the signs of repentance in the wandering sheep of Canterbury (whose spiritual death grieves all faithful Catholics). But, of course, he cannot allow them to question the sure and certain dogmas of Holy Church. Let them abandon their obstinate sins of heresy and schism, degrade their false bishops and cease to travesty the sacraments. Let them return to the true fold and he will heal all their griefs, leading them to the fountains of living waters which well out from the Divinely-appointed throne of Peter, the spiritual Rock of all the world. An even more strongly (not to say blasphemously) worded bull can be issued at the same time to the Bishops in communion with Rome, warning them of the consequence of holding any intercourse with the Anglicans.

Between the two alternatives of a genuine search for a *modus vivendi* and a direct and insulting rebuff, there are many shades of procedure. If history is any guide, various manœuvrings will take place before Rome decides finally how to deal with a formal request from Canterbury for judgment on the points at issue between the two Catholic groups of Churches in the Western Patriarchate. Without being unduly pessimistic, one may envisage the possibility of Rome ultimately declaring that there is no alternative to the statements objected to by Canterbury. A very interesting constitutional position is at once apparent—a position which is, in fact, what actually exists though not defined officially in due legal form.

Within the Western Patriarchate there are divisions between Catholics (quite apart from the Protestant

schisms). The differences between the two groups of Churches have been stated and no agreement can be arrived at internally. Either group, therefore, is at liberty to appeal to the other Patriarchates for their judgment on the points at issue. Canterbury does so on behalf of the Anglo-Catholic group, and there can be little doubt that the Eastern Patriarchates, being Orthodox, will agree in condemning Papal Infallibility, the Immaculate Conception dogma, and such sacramental definitions as are peculiarly Roman. Still, Rome is obdurate in spite of the restiveness of a large section of those under its obedience. Canterbury would be not only well within its rights but in duty bound to ask the Patriarchates to unite in summoning an Eighth Œcumenical Council to settle the issue authoritatively, and the assembly of that Sacred Synod would mark a new era in the Church, whether Rome shared in it or not. I do not venture to attempt to forecast the result except to say that it is by no means certain that, supposing the Pope forbade his "suffragans" to attend, he would be obeyed by all of them or even by the majority. Beneath the superficial calm of the Latin group of Churches there is very genuine uneasiness in many quarters at the results of the *modern* "imperialistic" policy dominant at Rome today. Christianity is not gaining ground in the so-called "Catholic" countries. In some, the ethical standard of its official exponents has fallen behind that of the "anti-clericals."

If, however, it is wrong to speculate concerning the action which a General Council might take for the Reunion of Christendom, there are a number of problems waiting decision which will be urgent in the next generation. First and foremost is the Christian Witness to the Gospel of Peace. No one who has been associated with the "Peace Movement" (in the party sense) can be suspected of unfair disparagement of the League of Nations, and I feel, therefore, that I am expressing a very general opinion among Christian

“watchmen” in saying that no political internationalism is possible unless it is the expression of the religious instinct of brotherhood. To put the position crudely and brutally, the British Empire is too vast for the smaller (but not necessarily inferior) cultures to get rid of the fear of domination by it. That this fear is unjustified we know ourselves, but the rest of the world (except the United States of America) does not believe it. Nor does the judgment of the United States weigh with Europe or Asia, the peoples of which see an even greater danger—Anglo-Saxondom—stalking behind. They do not yet realise how complete a change has come over British feeling in the mother-country, how thorough has been the present-day triumph of the doctrine of freedom (even of separatism) which the Victorian Liberals suffered for preaching—nor do they visualise the danger of a recrudescence of Jingoism if *Delenda est Britannia* becomes again a maxim of continental statecraft. Before, during, and since the War of 1914, there has not been wanting at Rome, and in the countries whose Churches accept the Roman lead, a party (numerous, active, and violently influential) which regards the “humbling” of Britain as the first interest of the Church of Christ. Conscious rectitude is not an all-sufficient defence, nor are the Ministers of the Crown its most unimpeachable exponents. In a General Council of the Church the calmer and essentially international atmosphere cannot fail to be favourable to a truer estimate of the brotherhood of man than can even be conceived in a diplomatic assembly concerned primarily with the balancing of temporal interests. Again, it would be improper to attempt to forecast what decisions with regard to the establishment of peace on earth a General Council would reach. But at least there would be this advantage that the Anglican Communion would not bulk as large as the British Empire does in the League of Nations, while on the historical plane of precedence and traditional authority our place is quite a lowly one.

There are also purely ecclesiastical problems, which in the next generation will become urgent, in relation to the jurisdiction of missionary Churches in various parts of the world. In Japan, for example, there is both an Orthodox Church and an Anglican. At present, with the bulk of the people non-Christian, the relations between these two bodies presents no difficulty, but the time will come when some sort of union will become imperative. The principles to govern the negotiations in such places when the necessity for adjustment of jurisdiction arises, require laying down in advance.

Similarly some general rules seem to be already wanted with regard to ministrations to the faithful following one rite, when they are "strangers and sojourners" out of reach of priests of their own Churches. The problem is a far wider one than is generally realised, for it touches not only sacramentals but also the education and spiritual upbringing of children. In these days of compulsory education a child (in Canada say) has to attend the public school, and it is nobody's business to see that he is taught the faith of his fathers. Anglican priests are very shy of interfering with children whose parents are not Anglicans, unless they are specially invited to do so. In Orthodox countries the same is true with regard to British families. And in consequence it is no one's business to take the matter in hand.

A third, and mainly ecclesiastical, problem is the establishment of missions in Protestant countries, like Germany. Neither Anglican nor Orthodox can at present do this satisfactorily, because neither can be altogether separated from the idea of nationality. There can be little doubt, however, that a mission from either under Œcumenical authority would be free from this "taint," and, therefore, more likely to be effective. Among the Teutonic peoples who broke with the Western Patriarchate at the Reformation, there is a far greater desire to return to Catholic order than is generally realised. They will never pay the price

which Rome demands, and it is, therefore, the duty of the rest of the Catholic world to initiate the work of their restoration.

In all these matters, and in the kindred questions which might be raised, it is obvious that a preliminary condition is the re-establishment of the proper Synodical procedure in the Church of England. More than this, we must not only act synodically, we must learn to think and write synodically. One can hardly exaggerate the harm which well meaning Anglican doctors do by putting forward "proposals for reunion" for discussion. Nothing is more calculated to set back the growth of improved relations between Canterbury and the Eastern Patriarchates than suggested compromises of this sort where we surrender this and expect the other party to surrender that. To do so argues a complete misunderstanding of the theological and ecclesiastical outlook of the East, even of its mentality. No "compromise" is possible. What we must seek is what alone their tradition of fidelity to the Deposit will allow, namely, community of purpose and action which requires not the slightest surrender of principle on either side. In other words, we must follow the proper constitutional procedure of the Church laid down in the days of the Councils. Synods, oecumenical or local, are primarily judicial bodies, as laid down in the charter of Matt. 18. They are not parliaments legislating for their subjects so much as supreme courts deciding definite issues raised and contested. In the divisions of the Western Patriarchate we have just such a controversy as was settled by Nikæa I. and Constantinople I. By every precedent it is the duty of Canterbury to lay the issue before a General Council, having carefully defined it in accordance with expert theological advice. The decisions of such a Council, if it can be summoned, would be binding on all Catholics, and the future would show that the Church of Christ has not yet lost her Divine power "to bind and to loose."

CHAPTER VIII.

"THE GOODLY FELLOWSHIP OF THE PROPHETS."

IMPORTANT as the restoration of the Synodical Government is in relation to the internal efficiency of the Church of England, and the reunion of the Churches with Apostolic ministerial succession, this aspect of the subject fades when we approach the problem of reconciliation with Nonconformity. For if the Tudors had even left the Synods as they found them, somewhat weakened survivals from pre-Norman times but still real and as full of possibilities as the Parliament, there would never have been any Nonconformist Churches¹ in England. Dissenters there would have been, for the right to dissent from anything is one of the most cherished privileges of every Englishman. But Dissent can only be *organised* as a party within the body politic or ecclesiastical, in which a small section may advocate the extreme measure of revolt, but of which the overwhelming majority will be content with contending earnestly for the reform of the community as a whole. Nothing but a sense of unfair treatment, lasting and irremediable by constitutional methods, can give birth to a revolutionary movement on a serious scale. Presbyterian, Independent, Quaker, Baptist, Methodist, Evangelical, Tractarian, Anglo-Catholic—each in turn has been dealt with under the same judicial process which is embodied in the Clergy Discipline Act of 1840. Their prosecutor (the Bishop or his agent) has also been their judge under the Tudor system of the feudal episcopate. The earlier parties bore it for a time and at last

¹ Of recent years it has been the Nonconformist practice to call their "Connexions" Churches, and I prefer to use their own terminology, if only for reasons of courtesy. Strictly speaking, of course, the word *ecclesia* (as applied to Christians) means a Company of the Faithful organised under one or more successors of the Apostles.

revolted to form Churches of their own where the English tradition of freedom was respected. If the last three, for the most part, remained loyal to the Church of their baptism, the reason is that the *power* of the feudal bishop has not been able to rely on sufficient support either from public opinion or from the Crown, rather than that there is any increased willingness to accept an episcopal *l'église, c'est moi*.

Certainly one of the most remarkable curiosities of mentality to-day is displayed by the so-called "Liberal" Churchmen among our prelates. They express openly their private opinion that the Nonconformist ministry differs only from the Catholic in the latter having maintained what they quaintly call "the historic episcopate." They assert moreover, without (indeed against all), evidence that the office of Bishop was created by the Church—by the presbytery that is, though if pressed they will sometimes admit that the presbytery does not differ sacramentally from the general body of the faithful. Yet they are perfectly certain that to limit the power of the Bishop, even by requiring him to obtain the consent of his Church before issuing orders, is that rebellion which is as the sin of witchcraft! And they honestly believe that they have only got to go on talking sloppy nonsense about the essential unity of all Christians for the various Nonconformist bodies to come tumbling in to make their submission. Leader after leader of the Nonconformists has declared (in answer to the Lambeth appeal) explicitly and even rudely that the greatest hindrance to reunion is to be found in the episcopal claim to unconditional obedience. They might have been talking to the wind. Our "Liberal" prelates continue to regard their own personal government as the one thing which everyone desires. Naughty Anglo-Catholics put the sacramental system in the forefront; narrow-minded Evangelicals cling obstinately to the obsolete Scriptural test; Nonconformists regard prelacy as the Mark of the Beast. All alike demand a constitutional

episcopate. But, in the interests of religion, they must be treated as children not knowing their own mind. When they arrive at years of discretion, they will realise that what they really wanted was to strengthen the autocratic power of the Diocesan and have no voice in his appointment!

"Ye think the rustic cackle of your bourg the murmur of the world." No words can better express the simply hopeless mentality which can even dream of suggesting reunion with Protestant Nonconformity on these lines. Outside academic circles it could not develop, for the whole point of view is critical and not constructive. Nonconformity is regarded as a negative movement, and our "Liberals" are principally anxious to show that they have learnt to deny that against which the fathers of Nonconformity contended earnestly. "Our predecessors were wrong and untrustworthy," they say. "We are not. Trust us and all will be right." But even if they offered some guarantee (which they do not) of their successors being as worthy of a blank cheque of confidence as they are themselves, no Church of Christ can be founded on a system of negatives. Those of us who come across Protestant Nonconformists at work know that theirs is anything but a negative religion. The "critical" side appears only in a fierce denunciation of evil, wherever it appears and in whatever form, as a personal and immediate duty. "It's Me, O Lord—it's Me, O Lord—that standeth in the need of prayer." The one real bond of union among Nonconformists is the doctrine of Conversion, which (as becomes anything English) takes a practical form. Before Conversion, a Nonconformist is a passive Christian concerned with the observance of a *jus divinum* set forth in Scripture and in the general conduct approved by the Christian community to which he belongs. After Conversion he is an active force. He is not his own. Like Jeremiah, he has a burning fire shut up in his bones and cannot contain. Like Paul, he cries, Woe is me, if I preach

not the Gospel. He is fiercely intolerant of restraint, as any one with the least spark of prophetic inspiration can hardly fail to be, even to the (not-unusual) extreme of egoistic private judgment. But he is not consciously self-assertive or arrogant. A very deep and real strain of humility runs through all he says or does. If at times (indeed often) Catholics are shocked by the exalted claims to guidance and by the free use of our Saviour's Name in justification of special pleading, they should remember that these are largely products of the continual struggle for self-suppression in those who believe that they are God's instruments, God's fellow-workers—not their own but bought with a price for use in reforming the world. It is as unfair to charge such men and women with hypocrisy because they sin and fall short, as it is to condemn the priesthood for our failures and shortcomings. Conversion to-day has little to do (and probably never had) with the travesty of Calvin's teaching concerning the predestined "elect" and the predestined "damned." It asserts in simple and practical terms the change in the relations between the individual and the world, when the Christian realises that God has a *personal* use for him here and hereafter in the common work of summing up "all things in Christ."

The problem of reunion with Nonconformity is, therefore, the exact opposite of the problem of reunion with the Eastern Orthodox. The former is bound, by the faith that is in him, to protect his individual liberty; the latter is bound, by his incorporation into the One Church, to guard the Deposit. Obviously, in both cases, no compromise is possible, and the only visible line of approach must be one that involves no sacrifice of principle on either side. If there be any other than under the "covering wing" of the Synodical Justice commanded in Matt. 18, it has not yet appeared in the lengthy conversations which have followed the Lambeth Appeal of 1920. Without the protection afforded to the individual in the right (and even the duty) to

justify himself in the face of the Church, the most real and best type of Nonconformist is inherently a rebel against direction. He must be treated as a free unit in the body corporate as a condition of his accepting its authority. "The Holy Church throughout all the world" is to him "the goodly fellowship of the Prophets," rather than "the glorious company of the Apostles."

There is a tendency to-day to forget the essentially prophetic character of that "outpouring of the Spirit on all flesh," the Christian mission. In the earliest days of the Church this ministry (as is well known) was almost, if not quite, as important as the sacramental. The Elders of a Church were by no means necessarily prophets also, nor had they control of those who had the inward light. "The spirits of the prophets," writes St. Paul (1Co.14³²) in his description of their ministry, "are subject to the prophets." In the *Didache* there is actually a rubric to the effect that, after the Breaking of the Bread, "the prophets may continue the Eucharist as long as they think fit." As Duschene points out (*Origin of Christian Worship*, p. 48), a Real Presence of the Holy Spirit was as much a mark of the early Christian Eucharist as the Real Presence of the Second Person of the Trinity in the sacrament itself.

Of this part of, or adjunct to, the Eucharist, there has been hardly any trace since the disappearance of the Montanists and similar sects in the years following Nikæa I. Their schism offers, when we make allowance for the difference in time and place, considerable resemblance to the organised Nonconformity of to-day, and some guidance in the way to re-unite the various sections of English religious life. At first Montanism was simply an exaltation of the prophetic office as a ministry independent of the sacramental system, and its history is a struggle between the hierarchy and the prophets for the control of the latter. The decline of the spirit of unselfish unity in the Church during the

second century operated in two ways to create a definite schism—the prophets became more impatient of control and the priesthood more anxious to assert it. When the breach occurred the Catholics tended to deny prophecy altogether, and the Montanists to deny any ministry except the prophetic. Broadly speaking, this is the difference, on the purely ecclesiastical plane, between Churchman and Nonconformist to-day. The ministry of the latter is essentially prophetic in character, and refuses to admit that there is any sacramental ministry at all in our sense.

A necessary preliminary, therefore, is the recognition by the Church of England of the *possibility* of a prophetic call, and by the Nonconformists of the *possibility* of a sacramental system. Without this no reunion can fail to be artificial—and the tragedy of the present situation lies in the fact that each side not only admits the possibility of the claim of the other but even believes in its truth. No Churchman, except for factious reasons, can assert that Nonconformity has been wholly evil. No Nonconformist will deny that there is good in the sacramental tradition of the Church. If there were no other complications, intercommunion might quite simply be brought about by the mutual recognition of ministries.

But the tangle is by no means so easy of resolution. In the Church the prophetic ministry has indeed been subordinated to the sacramental, but the two are still kept distinct in the two separate commissions given to our priests—the “character” of an elder, empowered to minister the Sacraments, and the license to “preach the Word,” which embodies the teaching office of the prophet. There is no claim that this license is equivalent to a “call,” in the spiritual sense, and there is no explicit suggestion that such a call can come to other than elders. In practice it has been found necessary, that all may be done “decently and in order” (to use St. Paul’s phrase), for the prophet to obtain recognition

and authority than the general body of the faithful believe, offering his voice in the assembly. The Church claims the right, as St. John puts it (1Jo 4th), to "try the spirits, whether they be of God; because many false prophets have gone out into the world." We may frankly admit that the power to "try the spirits" has been (certainly sometimes, possibly often) tyrannously and egotistically used. But we cannot admit that it is not part of the *jurisdiction* of the sacramental Body of Christ. Nonconformists cannot, with any regard to historical experience, deny that "the spirit of prophecy" has not always been "the testimony of Jesus." The furthest they can go is to assert that the peril of unchecked prophetic freedom is less than the evils which have followed attempts to restrain it.

On the other hand, the Nonconformist constitutional theories on the ministry generally amount to an implied denial both of the sacramental ministry and of priestly "character." They confuse Order and Jurisdiction in fact if not in actual definition. The "call" to the ministry is prophetic, and so accepted by the congregation which confers jurisdiction. Ordination is simply the confirmation of that call by those who have already received it. An "ex-minister" may be in full communion in the congregation who once had a "call" but from whom it has been withdrawn with his own knowledge and consent. An "ex priest" is as impossible a concept to the Church as an "ex-baptized" person. The former has a "character" as an Elder of the Church on earth just as the latter has a "character" as a member. In his ministry he is impersonal. His hands are not his own when he breaks the Bread; they are the hands of the Church. His voice is not his own when he says the words of Consecration; it is the voice of the Church—the utterance of the "two or three gathered together" in the Name of Christ. I do not suggest that any considerable number of Nonconformists are forgetful of this aspect of the Christian

ministry. But it is the essence of their constitutional position, a necessary consequence of the doctrine of conversion, that the "two or three" are built up from below in response to the individual call. Sacramental grace, as taught by the Church, either cannot exist, or, at best, is dependent on the prophetic ministry which assembles the congregation receiving it. It is hardly necessary to point out that this amounts to a denial of a sacramental ministry in the Church, and, as long as Nonconformists claim the right to celebrate the Eucharist without regular ordination, "mutual recognition of ministries" means the abandonment by Catholics of the whole Apostolic order as handed down through the centuries.

Is the position therefore hopeless? I think not, if we assume the Synodical Order duly restored in the Church of England. Quite the first problem which has to be faced in every diocese is the almost complete break-up of the territorial system. Even in the country districts there is a certain interchange of the faithful between neighbouring parishes whose Churches are at all close together, and with the expanding facilities of locomotion, this is yearly on the increase. In urban dioceses parochial boundaries have practically ceased to exist. Instead, we have officially adopted a species of congregationalism *with a limited number of Churches between which to choose*. It is precisely that limitation which is the greatest hindrance to reunion with Nonconformity. We have first to decide whether it is in the interests of the Gospel to increase the choice of places at which the faithful may gather together for prayer, "prophecy," and worship. Against such a proposal we can urge that few of the parish Churches are full, and that further "competition" will let loose a whole army of new difficulties, financial and organic. For it, may be advanced the improbability of detaching any considerable number of Nonconformists from their present associations and the scandal of the continued dissipation of Christian

endeavour by divisions which are largely an inheritance from the errors of the past.

These errors were on both sides, but the Church is not bound, and, therefore, need not feel called upon, to judge those who had left her Communion. She must, however, be prepared to remove every obstacle on her part, and to offer efficient safeguards that they will not be repeated. She must also act in a spirit of Faith in God, whose Church she is, and, because of her very claims, be willing to take even extreme risks in the pursuit of peace. It is clear that, in the event of a reunion between Nonconformity and the Church, either the chapels of the former must be brought into the territorial system (in which case the vast majority would be closed), or they must be recognised as independent centres of Church life. The former alternative may be ruled out as impossible, at any rate, for several generations. Does the latter present all the dangers and difficulties usually associated with the proposal?

Let us suppose that a Diocese, that is to say, its Bishop, with the concurrence of his presbytery, decides to offer recognition to the chapels within the area of its jurisdiction. Two conditions must be laid down. (1) Each Chapel shall keep its Roll of Membership in parallel to the Rolls of the parish Churches, that is to say, no unbaptised person can be a member and no unconfirmed person a member of the governing body. Further, for the avoidance of instability, no one shall be allowed to transfer his membership from Church to Chapel (or *vice versa*) without a year's probation, and that any proposal to do this shall be subject to objection before a properly constitutional court.

(2) The Sacraments shall only be celebrated in Chapels licensed for that purpose, such license not to be unreasonably withheld, and by ministers who have received the appropriate "character" by the laying on of hands of an Apostle. Those who already have received a "prophetic" ministry would be eligible "candidates for Holy Orders" on signing an orthodox Confession

of Faith and on undertaking to observe the limitation of their sacramental ministrations to Churches and Chapels licensed in the Diocese, in accordance with an adequate and accepted use.

Simple as this scheme is, it involves very real sacrifices, not of principle but of security, on both sides. The Church accepts the establishment of a Second Synod or presbytery in the Diocese, and recognises its Chapels as under a jurisdiction parallel to the diocesan. Nonconformity accepts a limitation of its freedom as far as the Sacraments are concerned, subject to a judicial system which may or may not work satisfactorily. To the Church there is the fear of being unfaithful to its stewardship of Catholic Order—to the Nonconformists the danger of betraying spiritual freedom. But to both alike there is one answer. We must approach the problem of reunion in a spirit of trust and not of suspicion. God is the Judge—he putteth down one and setteth up another. It is the sinners in Zion who are afraid, not the saints, and, as long as we take reasonable precautions, “scrupulousness” is an intolerable burden not required by God.

In a Diocese where the recognition of Chapels was allowed, we should have arrangements something like the following. Each Chapel would be a Collegiate Body, or a section of a Collegiate Body, with its own trust-deeds and its own organisation. Those of its members who had been confirmed would be in full Communion with the parish Church, but carrying on their Christian work freely in their own way. Their ministers, if in Holy Orders, would be, by the “license” of the Chapel, empowered to administer the Sacraments there in accordance with agreed rites. They would also, with the consent of the Diocesan, be competent to minister in the parish Churches, if invited by the incumbent, under the same conditions as is the custom with us to-day. For the regulation of their own sacramental rites they would form a Second Synod under the presidency of the Diocesan with their

own Moderator or Prolocutor in parallel to the constitution of the "First Synod." They would thus have no power to make changes in the agreed rites without the consent of the Diocesan, who, of course, could promulgate no decree binding on them unless they agreed. The Second Synod would thus be, like the First, primarily a judicial body for the settlement of disputes, subject to an appeal to the Great Synod of the Province, that is, to all who, whether Diocesans or not, had the Apostolic character. In this last proviso lies the real effort of Faith on the part of Nonconformists, for it is clear that it would be a long time (if ever) before they had more than a minority in the Apostolic College. On the other hand, they could be sure that any attempt to ride rough shod over them would lead to certain disaster. For the Chapels could at any time return their licenses and revert to the present position, if the unity of the spirit were broken. Without that unity, no system, within or without the Church, can ever work, and it is best to part company for the Church's sake. C. of E. is really risking far more in accepting a situation which may prove only a temporary arrangement, and which may be used ultimately as a lever for the destruction of her unique claim to the loyalty of English Christians.

Any difficulty which may arise between the organisations or individuals under the two parallel jurisdictions is referable to the Synod of the respondent party. Thus, if a parish Church was aggrieved at the "proselytising methods" of a Chapel, the case would be heard by the Second Synod. If the complaint came from the other side the First or Diocesan Synod would try it. Both Synods would probably have Courts of First Instance, as suggested with regard to the Ruridecanal Chapters, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred disputes would be arranged there by an amicable understanding, for it is to no one's interest that the system should not work. I am personally confident, indeed, that before many years had passed, the

system of Duplicate Synods would have been superseded, and the Nonconformist organisations, finding their liberty of action properly secured, would become intimately associated with the parochial. Competition would be quickly superseded by co-operation. The parish would have two Sunday Schools instead of one, and so on, and even, in many cases, whole departments of work in which the parish priest is really only Chaplain would tend to centre on the Chapel. There the Sacraments would be ministered occasionally to the workers in corporate communion, and at other times they would resort to the parish Church.

So far we have been considering only Chapels with independent trust-deeds and, therefore, competent to take individual action. A much larger number are associated in "Denominations," the central authority of which has a greater or less measure of control over the constituent members. We have to ask them to grant a general permission to their Chapels to accept licenses from the Diocesan authorities. The details of this arrangement will not be at all easy to settle, unless the whole Denomination accepts the proposal. For the Confirmation of Baptism by the Bishop is a necessary part of the sacramental system, as laid down in the Book of Common Prayer. If the Church is willing to allow the regulation to remain *sub judice* for a term of years, that will make agreement very much easier. But the matter is one for the Apostolic College of the Province to decide, and it is not seemly to discuss it here. Assuming, however, that the difficulty of qualification for communicant status can be surmounted, there is nothing in the fact that a Chapel is one unit in an organised "Church" to prevent it from being under the Second Synod for sacramentals while remaining for other purposes an integral part of its Denomination.

If a whole Denomination accepted "recognition by license" it might be necessary to set up more than one "Free Church" Synod—a Third Synod or even a

Sixth. But, though this would complicate the theory a little, it would not appreciably affect the practice. On the contrary, it would probably hasten the time when the various Synods in a Diocese would coalesce, and reunion be achieved—not by the submission of any one body of Christians to another, but as an effect of the realisation of unity of purpose resulting from co-operation in the common work.

From every point of view, therefore, the revival of the Diocesan Synod, with the full freedom and judicial powers it possessed in the early Church, is necessary in the Church of England to-day. Only by proper Synodical government, can internal discipline be restored, can we take once more our place in the One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic Church, can we hope to regain the confidence of English Nonconformity. And, one may add, only by trusting in the charter of Matt.18 can we hope for the guidance into all truth which is promised to those who hold the patience and faith of the Saints and the testimony of Jesus, which is the spirit of prophecy.

A LIST OF NEW & RECENT BOOKS

PUBLISHED BY

THE FAITH PRESS, LTD.,

AT THE FAITH HOUSE, 22 BUCKINGHAM STREET,
CHARING CROSS, W.C.2.

Concerning Right & Wrong A Plain Man's Creed.

By the REV. VICTOR L. WHITECHURCH.

Crown 8vo. Paper 1/-

Manchester Guardian:—"No better little book could be named for putting into the hands of any intelligent layman who wished to think seriously of his faith but had no time or taste for extensive theological study."

What the Man in the Street wants to know Is there a Plan?

By the Rev. T. H. PASSMORE.

Crown 8vo. Paper 1/6. Cloth 2/6.

Church Times:—"Its price is uncommonly cheap, but there is nothing else cheap about it. It is a very brilliant attempt to state the Faith in terms of evolution, and to harmonise our conception of God's scheme with the facts of atomic and biological science. It is a book to read carefully, think over deeply, and to read again."

The Spirit of Confession

By the REV. T. H. PASSMORE.

F'cap 8vo. Cloth 2/6.

Church Times:—"We recommend this book for the careful consideration of all priests who have to minister to the individual soul, so that they may both avail themselves of the valuable advice it contains and also that they may have it handy to lend to penitents who are distressed in mind. We desire it to have a wide circulation among the laity, and we feel sure that when they have read it for themselves they will concur with the high opinion that we have formed of it."

Bill's Book

By the REV. DONALD HOLE.

F'cap 8vo. Paper 1/- Cloth 2/-

Times:—"In this book of religious instruction for 'Bill,' Mr. Hole successfully remembers that he is addressing himself to and trying to interest a boy, and he uses a phraseology and vocabulary that any boy of average intelligence can understand. . . . 'What's wrong with Bill' is an excellent explanation of why Bill finds it easier to do wrong than right."

The Mystery of the Incarnation

By the REV. Fr. ED. HUGON, O.P., S.T.M.

Crown 8vo. Cloth 5/-

Church Times:—"The Faith Press does valuable service to English Catholics by the publication of books of this class. . . It is hard to think that such a work can fail to make the Incarnate Word more known—and, by the same count, more loved. . . . The best defence of the Truth is the extension of a true knowledge of it."

Devotions to the Holy Spirit

Collected and arranged by the Rev. H. J. T. BENNETTS.

F'cap 8vo. Cloth 2/6.

Times:—"Devotions to the Holy Spirit are conspicuously few in most devotional manuals, and this little book supplies a need. The author has drawn from more than seventy sources for his collection."

Anglo=Catholicism at the Cross Roads

By the REV. C. B. MOSS.

Crown 8vo. Paper 1/-

Guardian:—"This tract is courageous. . . . It deserves to be studied by those who call themselves Anglo-Catholics, and by those who do not—especially, perhaps, by those who do not."

79366

280.35

Douglas, C.E.

D745

The rallying centre

280.35 79366

D745



C0-AYL-571